



HUNGARIAN STUDIES

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THE LEGENDS OF KING STEPHEN

RICHARD PRAŽÁK

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The Legends of King Stephen, which appeared at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, have become part of the background of the literary awakening in the Early Middle Ages in Hungary, at the time of their appearance, however, there was still a very strong tradition of oral narrative, and literary creation brought to Hungary by Christianity. The christianization of Hungary dates from the middle of the 10th century, when the "Turkish" missionary bishop Hierotheos together with chief Gyula, baptized in Byzantium, came to the territory of the so-called "black" Magyars on the south-eastern border of present-day Hungary;¹ he also baptized Gyula's daughter Sarolta, wife of Duke Géza, who was himself baptized by the missionary bishop Bruno of Sankt Gallen in 972.² The Czech bishop Adalbert (Vojtěch)—according to the life of Bruno of Querfurt from the year 1004—visited Hungary only briefly in the year 955, but a tradition has been handed down to modern times that it was he who played the main role in bringing Christianity to Hungary.³ Shortly after his death Adalbert became a symbol of the missionary activity of the Ottonian Renaissance in Central Europe, patron of the first Christian cathedrals in Gniezno and Esztergom, and together with Wenceslas, the first patron of Czech Christianity. This dominant role of him in the christianization of the early medieval Central Europe in the Czech, Polish and Hungarian territories is graphically depicted by the legends of the 11th century, including the Hungarian legends of King Stephen.

Of the works written in Hungary before the oldest of the legends one may mention the remarkable text *Libellus de institutione morum ad Emericum ducem* from the years 1013–1015, attributed, probably erroneously, to Stephen himself, since it contains the advice of the ruler to his successor in the spirit of the favourite form of the Early Middle Ages, the so-called *speculum regium* (Royal mirror).⁴ Another important work of the first half of the 11th century was the writing of Bishop Gerard (Gellért) *Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum*, a socio-religious tract against the contemporary heresy in Hungary, written towards the end of Gerard's life, between Easter 1044 and September 1046, when he became a victim of the so-called pagan uprising in Hungary. More recent research has shown that Gerard's text was mainly aimed against Bogomilism, which formed the main philosophical basis of the pagan uprising of

1046.⁵ The question remains open as to Gerard's covert attack in the *Deliberatio* on supporters of St. Method, with whose assistance the power of the Church was, to the joy of the heretics, being weakened, may also be put in the context of Bogomilism.⁶ But the attack certainly brings to mind a form of Method's Christian (and Slavonic) tradition in 11th century Hungary, before the coming of the Czech monks of Sázava to that country during the reign of the Hungarian king Andrew I, a form about which nothing else is known.

The *Gesta Ungarorum* of the time of kings Andrew I and Koloman, which has not survived, indicates a relatively early blossoming of chronicles in the old Hungarian literature.⁷ Nonetheless the core of the oldest literary production of Hungary is formed by the Latin legends of the first Hungarian saints from the years 1064–1116. They have been preserved in a number of copies, mostly of later date, which has greatly impeded their precise dating. Nevertheless, the indubitable age of most of these legends and the lack of any other domestic literary production makes them a valuable source of information on the period, and particularly a valuable piece of evidence on literary development, with universal validity.

The oldest literary context is the oldest Hungarian legend, *Legenda sanctorum Zoerardi et Benedicti*, by Bishop Maurus (in Hungarian Mór) of Pécs, dating from 1064, which is strongly associated with the oldest feudal culture, stretching back to the classical heritage in the Italian and Frankish regions. It was already influenced by the early medieval cult of Jeremy (Hieronymos), which also left a deep mark on the Carolingian Renaissance and meant a new impulse in literary creation during the Ottonian Renaissance, paving the way for the features typical of the hermit period of the 11th century, as witnessed by many leading legends of contemporary medieval literature, starting with Bruno of Querfurt's *Vita quinque fratrum* from 1008 and ending with the *Vita beati Romualdi* by Pietro Damiani in 1042.⁸ The legends of famous Central European hermits are often placed alongside these great works, such as the legend of St. Ivan, the legend of St. Günther (Vintř) or the legend of Zoerard (Svorad) and Benedict. The doctrinal base of the legend of Zoerard and Benedict was provided by the Italian Camaldulian reform movement founded by Abbot Romuald, which followed on from the missionary policy of the Ottonian Renaissance. In the Hungary of the day the legend of Zoerard and Benedict was strongly connected with the baronial lands of Nitra and marks the beginning of the hagiographic tradition in the Hungary of the Árpáds' age. It represents a combination of the *acta et miracula* type of legend with the hagiographic poem, and from the literary point of view the connections between the rhyming parts of the legend and early medieval hymns are very important.⁹ The legend of Zoerard and Benedict combines the authentic legend of the life of two saints with Ambrosian hymns and the historical songs, also typical of early medieval hymns. Indeed the slaying of Zoerard's disciple Benedict by robbers and his miraculous raising from the river Váh with the help of an eagle are the basis of the

ballad tradition of Hungarian literature. The development of the ballad might in future be fruitfully studied in connection with the development of medieval ecclesiastical literature. Similar connections between balladic elements and the tradition of hymnology and the authentic legendary base can be found, e.g., in a Hymn on the Transfer of St. Martin's Relics, by Bishop Radbód of Utrecht, from the early 12th century.¹⁰ The description of the strict asceticism of Zoerard in our legend is reminiscent of the martyrological scenes in the Lombardy murals in The Martyrdom of St. Vincent in the Lombardy church of St. Vincent in Galliano, dating from the year 1007.¹¹

The legend of Zoerard and Benedict also contains many folklore elements; apart from the legend of the eagle seeking the body of Benedict in the river Váh there is also, for example, the story of how after his death Zoerard raised a robber and a hanged malefactor from the dead. The description of Zoerard's asceticism also retains the beauty of the folk tale, his forty day fast on forty nuts, a version of the Syrian-Palestinian legend of the hermit Zosimus, who fasted on forty dates. This element is connected with the Maronite Christianity of the Near East.

By contrast, the larger legend of St. Stephen, *Legenda maior sancti Stephani regis*, written in the years 1077–1083, before the canonization of Stephen, has a strictly ecclesiastical character.¹² The ascetic holiness of the missionary king stands out in the legend, and he is given an apostolic title. The legend shows the great merits of Stephen in founding churches and monasteries not only in Hungary but also in other countries, such as Italy, Latin Rome and Byzantine Ravenna, as well as in Byzantium, Constantinople and Christian Jerusalem.¹³ In the coming struggle between Empire and Papacy the author of the legend seems to support the Papacy. The capital of the world is found in Rome, and the cult of the Virgin Mary is strong. He combines a theologically conceived explanation with Stephen's biography, mainly hagiographical in character. For him Stephen was above all "*miles Christi*", whose many struggles against feudal discreteness and for the unification of Hungary are not concretely depicted here. The style of the legend is also quite dry, lacking graphic examples or interesting stories from the saint's life, or a more colourful description of events. The principles of rhymed prose are applied with mixed success. One of the best parts is the etymological explanation of the name Stephen:

Nomen sibi impositum est Stephanus,
quod alienum a consilio dei non credimus,
Stephanus quippe Grece,
coronatus sonat Latine.¹⁴

It is not only in this etymology that we find a combination of Greek and Italian. Apart from the attention paid to Stephen's ecclesiastical donations both in Italy and in

Byzantium, the Byzantine influence appears, for example, in the concept of Mary, the Mother of God, "*dei genitricis*", which is typical of the 11th century.¹⁵

The attempt to maintain the balance between the Roman and Greek churches, so characteristic of Stephen, was also typical of King St. Ladislav, in whose reign the *legenda maior* appeared. Just as Stephen fought against Bogomilism as an ally of Byzantium, so Ladislav founded in the 1090s the Zagreb diocese in the region of the Save and the Drave, with the intention of fighting Bogomilism, which was again strongly penetrating into southern parts of Hungary. He appointed to this see on Slav territory a bishop of the Latin rite, the Czech priest Duch, who spoke a similar tongue to that of the local Slavs.¹⁶ The author of the *legenda maior* was also considered to be a Czech Benedictine.¹⁷ Nor does his sympathy for Greek Christianity eliminate the possibility of a certain connection with the Benedictine-Basilian monastery at Visegrad, where at the end of the 1050s the Szazavan monks, led by Abbot Vitus, nephew of St. Prokop, took refuge after being expelled from Szazava by Czech Duke Spytihněv.¹⁸ Cohabitation of Benedictines with Basilians is found as early as the second half of the 10th century in the Roman Aventine, where St. Adalbert also began his missionary activity, the latter being mentioned in the legend as the Czech bishop who baptized St. Stephen. In later Hungarian Chronicles Adalbert is referred to as the bishop of Prague, e.g. in the *Chronicon Budense*, the chronicle of Simon Kézai, etc.¹⁹

The author of the *legenda maior* emphasizes, apart from the christianizing merits of Adalbert in Hungary, the missionary activity of abbat Anastasius-Astriik and his pupil Boniface, also connected with the missionary calling of the Břevnov Benedictines in Hungary. The author's application of Czech conditions to a Hungarian environment is most often seen in his words on the diets of Géza: "*convocatis . . . Hungariae primatibus cum ordine sequenti*",²⁰ reminiscent of Cosma's terminology in his Czech chronicle "*omnes quidem Boemi primi et secundi ordinis eum diligebant*", corresponding to the historical reality of the old Czech state of the 11th century.²¹ The foreign origin of the author of the legend is also indicated by his dismissal of the Hungarians as "*filios perditionis et ignorantiae, populum rudum et vagum*".²²

The christianizing mission of the legend was taken over by the canonizing intentions of Ladislav.²³ The author of the legends depicts the adoption of Christianity in Hungary as a struggle between Stephen and the devil. This basic outline is embellished especially by the theological competence of the author, who particularly emphasizes the teaching of the gospels and is equally familiar with the Old and New Testaments. He praises Stephen especially for his piety, generosity to the Church and untiring opposition to the enemies of Christianity.²⁴ From our point of view, apart from the mention of the Czech mission of Adalbert and Anastasius-Astriik, the twelfth chapter, on the mercy shown by Stephen to the poor is interesting, noting the frequent visits by the Bohemian Forest hermit Günther (Vintř) to Stephen's court, where he received generous alms for the needy from the Hungarian king. It is said to have been on

Günther's suggestion that Stephen founded the monastery at Bakonybél, where Gerard (Gellért), later Bishop of Csanád, lived for some time.²⁵

The character of Stephen the man is to a large extent lacking in the *legenda maior*, being replaced by the general Christian concept of the "holy king", in the spirit of the postulates of Augustine, attempting to release himself from earthly bonds by embracing the transcendental.²⁶ It is a certain topos of the medieval hagiographic tradition, as it imagined the ideal early feudal ruler. We can find a similar picture, e.g., in the biography of the Emperor Louis the Pious by Theganus (the *Vita Hludowici*), written in Trier around the year 850.²⁷ The basis of this topos may be seen in classical times in Pontius' biography of Cyprian, which is considered the "first Christian biography" and forms the starting point for the medieval legendary tradition.²⁸ Even in Pontius' version of the life of Cyprian the basic idea of the "divine mission" of the hagiographical hero is expressed, suppressing the profane side of his life, taking on its strongest form particularly where Christianity developed in the womb of barbaric traditions, for example in the Carolingian environment. We find a similar situation after the establishment of Christianity in the young feudal states of contemporary Central Europe, where for this reason the first hagiographical attempts are closely related to the old classical and early feudal traditions, which acquire a new topicality here. Thus, the *legenda maior* sets out from the idea of the "divine mission" to the christianization of Hungary, which was not completed by its initiator Duke Géza, but only by his son Stephen, the actual founder of the christianized early feudal Hungarian state, as is also clear from the introductory chapters of the *legenda maior*. In the very first sentence it says: "*Omne datum optimum et omne domum perfectum desursum est, descendens a patre luminum.*"²⁹ This passage from the letter of St. James the Apostle had already been embraced in the 6th century on the basis of the Platonic philosophy by Dionysios Areopagita in his work, translated into Latin at the Paris court of the Frankish king Charles II the Bald by Johannes Scotus Eriugena, half way through the ninth century.³⁰ Dionysios's work *Hierarchia caelestis* forms the basis of medieval mysticism and so-called Christian symbolism, which came to the fore just in the 11th century, when Berengar of Tours renewed the antirealistic philosophy of Hrabanus Maurus, inherited from the Carolingian epoch, whose works surprisingly form the backbone of the oldest Hungarian library, the Benedictine library of the Chief Abbey at Pannonhalma. The inventory of this library from around 1090 is the oldest record of library work in which domestic Hungarian writings could be based. Apart from the usual ecclesiastical literature, missals, antiphonaries, lectionaries, breviaries, the *regulae* of orders etc., the ascetic meditations of Pomerius, *Liber Prosperi de activa et contemplativa vita*, an unspecified life of St. Martin—probably by Gregory of Tours—one work of Lucanus and Latin grammars, books of dialectics and rhetorics, we can also find in particular the works of Paulus Diaconus, the Venerable Bede and Hrabanus Maurus.³¹

In the concept of the *legenda maior* there is also reflected the thesis of Pietro Damiani on philosophy as the "servant of theology", which formed one of the ideological bases of the stand of the Papacy in the struggle for investiture, undoubtedly connected with Ladislás's support for the Papacy, which he saw as a defence against the expansive moves of the Empire. The Carolingian tradition is reflected not only in the literary part of the *legenda maior* connected with the literature of the Carolingian epoch, but a link with that epoch is also shown, for example, in the description of the coronation ceremony of Stephen: "*Stephanus rex appellatur et unctione crismali perunctus diademate regalis dignitatis feliciter coronatur*",³² where the expression *crisma* was used, from the Carolingian epoch, to denote the crism or holy oil used in the consecration of bishops and kings.³³

From the literary point of view the *legenda maior* is on the whole a typical product of the rhymed prose of the period, with rich stylistic flourishes and rhetorical figures. Let us take as an example the fine *iteratio* in the sixteenth chapter "*Christum in ore, Christum in corde, Christum in unctis actibus se gestare demonstravit*",³⁴ which also emphasizes the basic doctrinal message of the legend. An interesting, literarily well-fashioned insertion is the vision of Géza in a rudimentary hexameter, where the influence of some previous biography of Stephen is usually seen, traces of which can be found in the humanistic work of the Palermo Dominican Pietro Ransano *Epitome rerum Ungaricarum* from the end of the 15th century.³⁵

The *Legenda minor sancti Stephani regis* seems to have been written shortly after the year 1109 in the territory of the Hungarian king Koloman the Book-lover.³⁶ In spite of his name he was a very warlike ruler, who began the expansion of Hungary southwards, conquered Croatia and Dalmatia, and paved the way to these conquests by an alliance with the Sicilian Normans against Venice. This expansionism required some ideological revision of the legacy of the previous Árpáds, along with adjustments to the image of the founder of the Hungarian state, the "pious" King Stephen, as presented by the *legenda maior* at the beginning of Ladislás's reign, with the intention of having him canonized.

The *legenda minor* does not place such unequivocal emphasis on the piety and holiness of Stephen, and though it is based, as the author himself states, on the previous version, the picture of Stephen differs considerably from that in the *legenda maior*. In the actual account of the life of Stephen the author of the *legenda minor* follows the *legenda maior*, and perhaps also to the lost life of Stephen from half way through the 11th century, as is suggested by the author's words in connection with the life and work of Stephen "*sicut fideli et veraci relatione tunc temporis viventium accepimus*".³⁷ The basic motif also—the celebration of Stephen as the first Christian king of Hungary—is largely the same in both legends, but the author of the *legenda minor* places much more emphasis on Stephen as a warrior against the pagan. In his eyes Stephen is a suppressor of paganism and forcibly unites Hungary on the Christian principle of a higher

mission, so that his efforts in this direction are considered completely justified. This struggle against the opponents of Christianity is also more concretized in the *legenda minor*, and though this version is far from being a historical document, we find a great deal of factual information on Stephen's victory over the pagans at Veszprém, his victory over the Pechenegs in Transylvania, the suppression of the resistance of dissident aristocrats in his own court, etc. At such moments in the *legenda minor* Stephen appears as a determined ruler, who does not hesitate to punish his enemies severely, and the author of the legend does not pay much heed to his Christian mercy. For example, he has some royal servants hanged without remorse when they lay hands on royal property.

The frequent mention of St. Martin as patron of the Hungarian church and the chief patron of Stephen is striking, being among other things also typical of the *legenda maior*. It can be concluded from this that the author of the *legenda minor* was a fellow Benedictine of the author of the *legenda maior* whose legacy he continued though adapting it to the needs of the early 12th century. In many places in the legend we find justification of the attacks of Koloman on his opponents. So, for example, when Stephen has his would-be assassins blinded, this is an indirect justification of the same act by Koloman against the dukes Álmos and Béla. We do not find the punishments of blinding and hanging in Stephen's actual laws, but they are typical only of his successors in the second half of the 11th century. The punishments of blinding and hanging were not included in the law until the time of Ladislas.³⁸

The saint as hero of bloody battles is found praised especially in the canonic collection of Anselm of Lucca, (later Pope Alexander II), and the representative of the Cluniac ideal, Pope Leo IX, became head of an army in the mid-11th century. The Byzantine habit of painting the saint as patron of warriors on standards can even be found in the 10th century and in the 11th and 12th centuries also became widespread in the west. The "militia Christi" was still the privilege of the monks in the 10th century, but in further decades it became that of kings. A similar picture to that painted of Stephen at the beginning of the 12th century by the *legenda minor* can be found as early as the 10th century in the life of St. Edmund (*Vita S. Eadmundi regis Anglorum et martyris*), though reflecting to an even greater extent the monastic ideal of the ascetic king found in the *legenda maior*.³⁹

It was also in this spirit that the first *Life* of Stephen from the 1040s was apparently written, though it has not survived and has to be reconstructed from the above-mentioned chronicle of Pietro Ransano from the end of the 15th century. This, the oldest *Life* of Stephen, written shortly after his death, contained the most concrete data on his life, which were taken up in the work of Ransano and other medieval Hungarian chronicles, such as that of Simon Kézai, which influenced the Hungarian chronicles of the 14th century and others. Here there is concrete mention of Stephen's opponents, of Koppány's intrigue with Stephen's mother Sarolta, of the leader of the "black

Magyars" Gyula, of the exact year of Stephen's birth, 969, etc. This, the oldest life of Stephen, thus represents a historical and literary precursor to the *legendae maior et minor*.⁴⁰

The *legenda minor* is a more sophisticated literary work than the *legenda maior*. It is based on a fresh narrative, the author using short but dramatically charged sentences, his style showing a knowledge of Hungarian narration and folk tales. Particularly successful epic passages include the tale of the defence against the Pechenegs, Stephen's judgment of the thief, the attempt on his life, etc. The *legenda minor* has a special strength in its completeness. Here we learn that Stephen was born in Esztergom, that he studied grammar, etc.

The good composition, clear grammatical sentence structure, knowledge of contemporary linguistic stylistic and rhetorical devices, hyperbole, antithesis, adnomination, etc.—all are characteristic of the literary workmanship of the *legenda minor*, where we also find good rhyming passages. Among the poetic devices there is also *paronomasia*: "*Isti protectione dei roborati accinguntur, / illi amentia sua obligati discinguntur.*"⁴¹ The author of the legend also knows how to make best use of cross rhymes.

The author's knowledge of letters is also remarkable, e.g., it is here that we first meet with the first references to Horace in Hungarian literature.⁴² But the basic source for the author were works of an ecclesiastical nature, the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul. The special reminder of the fact that Stephen learnt grammar in his youth might indicate a knowledge of the teaching of Isidor of Seville, who considered grammar to be "*ars prima*"; and in the twelfth century John of Salisbury designated grammar the cradle of philosophy.⁴³

By a combination of the *legenda minor* and the *legenda maior*, with the main emphasis on the latter, Hartwik's *Legenda sancti Stephani regis ab Hartvico episcopo conscripta* was written which the author enriched with some new elements. There had been some doubt concerning the identity of the author but he is now considered to have been Hartwik, Bishop of Győr, probably of German origin, and according to contemporary sources a member of King Koloman's mission to Sicily, whence in 1097 he brought Buzilla, the daughter of the Sicilian king Roger to be Koloman's wife. The alliance with the Sicilian Normans was intended to provide Koloman with allies against Venice and thus form the basis for the annexation of Croatia to Hungary. Koloman was a supporter of the Pope and in October 1106 he supported through his emissaries to the ecclesiastical council in Guastalla in Upper Italy, the right of papal investiture though Hartwik is thought to have had certain sympathy with the Empire. This also led some researches to seek Hartwik's person in German circles, in the Ratisbon (Regensburg) bishop of the same name, or in the Archbishop of Mayence (Mainz).⁴⁴

The papal sympathies of the Hungarian kings, apparent as early as Stephen's time, were forced on them by the threat to Hungary from the German emperors. After Conrad's unsuccessful attack on Stephen in 1030, Hungary was again threatened by Henry III in 1052, when on the request of King Andrew I the Pope himself even came to Hungary and at Pozsony (Bratislava) helped in making peace between the two rulers. It is possible that it was the visit of Leo IX which helped to establish the new concept of the "*militia Christi*", when the pious, contemplative saint of the ascetic monastic life was replaced by the warrior saint. This idea became ensconced in Hungary only later, at the time of Ladislas and Koloman. Even Andrew I, a ruler mostly associated with eastern influences, introduced the warrior tradition of Byzantium into Hungary, putting eastern saints such as his patron Andrew, Demetrius and George on his standards.⁴⁵

And thus it was that in the tradition of the *legenda minor* and that of Hartwik's legend the warrior postulates of the papal transformation of the "*militia Christi*", at the time of the struggle for investiture, combined in Hungary with the Byzantine traditions. Koloman himself seems to have placed particular emphasis on the tradition of Stephen in this new, warrior spirit, corresponding as it did more closely to his expansionist aims. At the time when Bishop Hartwik wrote his Stephen legend, i.e. in the years 1112–1116, he already seems to have been entirely on the side of King Koloman, and thus conceived his work according to the latter's intentions. Nonetheless his depiction of Stephen is mainly based on the text of the *legenda maior*, which belongs to the older type of royal legend, relating to ascetic, pious kings, closer to the ideas of the reforming monks, as formulated from the 10th century onwards by the Cluniac movement. It was this very Cluny movement that—unlike the Lotrin reforms or the reform attempts of Romuald—at the same time formed the basis of the second type of royal legend, as represented by the *legenda minor*, where the ruler as "*miles Christi*" expresses in the main a militarily uncompromising attitude towards the enemies of the Church. This dual basis of Hartwik's legend, derived from the ideology of the "*militia Christi*" in the spirit of the *legenda minor* and the need for earthly power in support of the Papacy, and the factographical starting-point of the *legenda maior* in the depiction of Stephen's life and work, makes it represent a certain transitional stage between the two types of royal legend mentioned above, and represented, respectively, by the the *legenda maior* and *minor*.⁴⁶

The overall treatment of Hartwik's legend is, however, a much more novel one than that of the older legends of King Stephen. Above all, the author reveals his identity in the first sentence and says that he writes his work in the reign of King Koloman, to whom the work is dedicated. In the dedication there is an apology for the shortcomings of the work, revealing Hartwik's knowledge of Priscian's work *Institutio de arte grammatica*. This may have been the work which arrived in Hungary in the 1020s as the "Priscian Codex", sent by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs as an

expression of his gratitude for the gifts of the Hungarian king, Stephen, towards the rebuilding of Chartres Cathedral after its destruction by fire.⁴⁷ In the spirit of Priscian Hartwik considers his work to be a mainly historical account—*narratio historica*—which, according to the custom of the times, required a certain style, with a preponderance of the indicative, a material, rationally conceived account and clear word order. Hence Hartwik's emphasis on "*rationem contextus*", "*dictionum ordinatio*", etc. Hartwik is an adroit stylist, writing his work in very natural-sounding rhymed prose.⁴⁸

As far as the content is concerned, Hartwik in the spirit of the previous legends of Stephen emphasizes Adalbert's contribution to the christianization of Hungary, the protection of St. Martin and St. George in Stephen's battles, Stephen's charity and gifts to the Church and his struggle against the Pechenegs and the Emperor Conrad, etc. He writes in some detail on the beginnings of Christianity in Hungary. For example, he is the first to give information concerning the first Archbishop of Esztergom, Sebastian, usually identified with Radla,⁴⁹ and is also the first to write of Astrik's mission to the Pope, who gave him the royal crown originally intended for the Polish duke Mieszko, to take to Stephen. This datum of Hartwik's plays a dominant role in the Hungarian-Polish chronicle (*Chronica Hungaro-Polonica*), written in Poland in the 13th century, and is in many places based on Hartwik's legend.⁵⁰ Hartwik's identification of the Břevnov abbot Anastasius with Astrik is also valuable, its justification having later been challenged, while in the light of present research it seems entirely justified.⁵¹ The conclusion to Hartwik's legend is entirely original, where he speaks of the raising of Stephen's body from the grave on the occasion of his canonization in the year 1083, and of the miracles after his death. Particularly famous is Hartwik's account of how Stephen's intact right hand was removed from the grave after its opening. In honour of Stephen's revered right hand King Ladislav later founded a monastery near to Nagyvárád, as is recounted in Hartwik's legend. This occurred in 1084, and the place is called Szentjobb, 'holy right hand' (in Romanian Sîniob). The reverence for the "holy right hand" of Stephen was later, in 1222, even incorporated in the *Golden Bull* of king Andrew II.⁵²

Hartwik's legend, as the last of the cycle of the legends of Stephen from the second half of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century, brought to an end the contemporary production of legends of King Stephen; it gave the most historically complete picture of the king's life and work and thus became the basis of his later biographies of Stephen.

A supplement to the legends of King Stephen is provided by the *Legenda sancti Emerici ducis* from the years 1109–1112, which expands one of the episodes of the holy life of Stephen's son Imre into an independent legend. Prince Imre was married, but died in 1031, at the age of only twenty-four, leaving no children. In the system of the oldest Hungarian legends he is a celibate confessor, on whose behalf great efforts were

made at the beginning of the 12th century in Hungary to establish him as a holy figure. Imre's legend also emphasizes the apostolic mission of Stephen in the christianization of Hungary and thus puts the finishing touches to the myth of the "apostolic king" found in the other legends. Among these Hartwik's legend is based directly on Imre's.⁵³

Thus, the legends of King Stephen from the years 1077–1117 form a complete cycle about the founder of the early Christian feudal Hungarian state of King Stephen. While the *legenda maior* is of the older type of royal legends of the ascetic monastic type, typical of the 10th century, the *legenda minor* already belongs to the type of royal legend of the warrior saint, conqueror of pagans and enemies of the Church, which became topical from half the mid-11th century in connection with the approaching struggle over investiture. Hartwik's legend represents a transitional type between the two. While the first two legends seem to have originated in a Benedictine environment and support the papal sympathies of the Hungarian kings—like Imre's legend, among whose primary sources is the Benedictine *regula*, with its requirement of celibacy, which formed part of the Pannonhalma Benedictine Abbey library—Hartwik's legend is more closely connected with the Hungarian royal court and displays a certain wavering between the papal and imperial causes.

From the literary point of view the legends of King Stephen all belong to a type of rhymed prose in Hungarian writing more sophisticated than the legend of Zoerard and Benedict, which represents an older type of hagiographic form (*acta et miracula*), and does not have the more advanced literary elements of legend writing found in the legends of King Stephen. These also follow the Carolingian tradition—which is a typical feature of all the old Hungarian legends—but they also reflect on a higher level the classical tradition of literature. If, for example, we compare the legends of Stephen with those of Wenceslas, we see that the Wenceslas legends of the 10th century are representative of the first type of royal legend, as seen in the *legenda maior* of Stephen. The legend of Christian constitutes an exemption, where in the Kouřim scene we can already find the germ of the second type of royal legend, widespread only later in the period of the struggle over investiture.⁵⁴ The legends of King Stephen also reflect the development of the cultural and literary environment in Hungary at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, which still took place well within the bounds of church culture, while at the same time reflecting the development of a class society and feudal property in the period of the stabilization of the early Hungarian feudal state during the reigns of Ladislas and Koloman.

The *legenda minor* marks the formation of a specific literary tradition in Hungary, in which the author follows in the footsteps of predecessors, particularly in those of the author of the *legenda maior*. He also draws on trustworthy oral reports—similarly as the Czech Cosmas—though he takes a more critical approach towards them than

Bishop Maurus had taken almost half a century earlier in the legend of Zoerard and Benedict. The author of the *legenda maior*, on the other hand, entirely omits oral tradition, a feature in which he displays a similarity to Hartwik, who in recounting the miracles following Stephen's death, bases his account more on ecclesiastical than on folk tradition. But the overall account of the life "after death" of Stephen and the miracles connected with his cult is prosaically more fully developed by Hartwik than by the author of the *legenda minor*. Hartwik too—just as the author of the *legenda minor*—is already trying to extend the concept of a literary work. He places emphasis on the historical facts and their specific presentation in the spirit of Priscian's *narratio historica*, and tries to make his work meet the demands of medieval learning. In this respect he tries to produce not only *narratio historica* but also *narratio docta*. Both Hartwik's legend and the *legenda minor* represent literarily more sophisticated forms, more richly fabulous and more varied in motif than the *legenda maior*, and are evidence of the further development of Hungarian literature during that period.⁵⁵

Notes

1. Moravcsik, Gyula, *Görög nyelvű kolostorok* (Greek Monasteries at the Time of St. Stephen), Szent István Emlékkönyv vol. I, Budapest 1938, pp. 391–395, and Timkó, Imre, *Keleti kereszténység, keleti egyházak* (Eastern Christianity, the Eastern Church), Budapest 1971, pp. 387–388. Cf. also Laurent, V "L'Évêque des Turques et le proêtre de Turquie", Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de Section Historique 23, București 1942.
2. Cf. Györffy, György, *István király és műve* (King Stephen and his Work), Budapest 1977, pp. 68–73.
3. Idem, 80.
4. Of recent literature on this often studied work, cf. at least Horváth, János, jr. *Árpád-kori latin nyelvű irodalmunk stílusproblémái* (Stylistic Problems of Our Latin Language Literature in the Age of the Árpáds), Budapest 1954, pp. 116–131.
5. See, e.g., Pražák, Richard, "Bogomilismus v Uhrách 11. století (Bogomilism in 11th Century Hungary)", *Studia baltica bohemo-slovaca*, Brno 1970, pp. 76–83, and bibliography.
6. *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae ecclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum ad Insigninum liberatam*. In: (Batthyány, Ignatius, ed.) *Acta et scripta S. Gerardi episcopi Csanadiensis . . .*, Albo-Carolinae 1790, p. 284.
7. Cf. also Horváth, János, jr. o. c., pp. 305–340.
8. Cf. also the collection of studies *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII*, Milano 1965.
9. Of the numerous works on the Legend of Zoerard and Benedict the most valuable recent publications are the monograph of Milik, Józef Tadeusz, *Święty Świerad* (St. Zoerard), Roma 1966, and the studies of Kúttnik, Jozef, "O pôvode pustovníka Svorada" (On the origin of the Hermit Zoerard), *Nové obzory* 11, Košice 1968, pp. 5–122, and Ratkoš, Peter, "Vznik kultu Ondreja-Svorada a Benedikta vo svetle zagrebských pamiatok" (The Origin of the Cult of Andrew-Zoerard and Benedict in the Light of the Zagreb Sources), *Historijski zbornik* 29–30, 1976–1977, Zagreb 1977, pp. 77–86. Of the older works the study of Holinka, Rudolf, "Sv. Svorad a Benedikt, svätci Slovenska" (SS. Zoerard and Benedict, Slovakian Saints), Bratislava 8, Bratislava 1934, pp. 304–352, is still significant. I have attempted to

- arrive at a new conception of the Legend of Zoerard and Benedict in my paper "Nejstarší uherská legenda Legenda Sanctorum Zoerardi et Benedicti v širších historických a kulturních souvislostech své doby" (The Oldest Hungarian Legend, Legenda sanctorum Zoerardi et Benedicti in the Wider Historical and Cultural Contexts of the Period), Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity — Studia minora facultatis philosophicae universitatis brunensis. C 28, 1981, pp. 207–224. Hungarian version "A Legenda Sanctorum Zoerardi et Benedicti történelmi és kulturális összefüggései", Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények 84, 1980, no. 4, pp. 393–408.
10. Cf. Szövérfy, Josef, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung*. I. Die lateinischen Hymnen bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 1964, 317–319.
 11. Cf. Bologna, Ferdinando, *Die Anfänge der italienischen Malerei*, Dresden 1964, Plate 10.
 12. On the *legenda maior* cf. especially the edition by Bartoniek, Emma, in *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum* (henceforth abbreviated SRH) vol. II, Budapest 1938, pp. 377–392, and the general analysis and edition of the legends of King Stephen by Varjú, Elemér, *Legendae sancti Stephani regis*, Budapest 1928. Of the further/other literature see especially Erdélyi, László, *Magyar művelődés története. Az Árpádok kora 1000–1301* (History of Hungarian Culture. The Árpáds 1000–1301), Kolozsvár 1918, pp. 4–6, Holinka, Rudolf, "Vita S. Stephani regis", Sborník Matice slovenskej 1938–1939, Martin 1940, pp. 182–202, Horváth, János, o. c., pp. 136–142, and Györfly, György, o. c., pp. 126–128.
 13. Cf. text of legend in SRH II, pp. 377–392.
 14. Idem, pp. 380–381.
 15. Cf. idem, pp. 381.
 16. See *László király emlékezete* (In Memory of King Ladislas), Ed. by Kurcz, Ágnes, foreword by Györfly, György, Budapest 1977, p. 17.
 17. The first to make this claim was Pauler, Gyula, "A Hartvic-legenda és pesti codexe" (Hartwik's Legend and the Pest Codex), *Századok* 18/1884, pp. 738–749. His view was supported by Erdélyi, László, o. c., 5, Holinka, Rudolf, o. c. (see note, 12), 192, 2), 192, and others. Varjú, Elemér, o. c., pp. 90–92, has a different opinion on the Hungarian authorship of the *legenda maior*.
 18. For their expulsion from Sázava by Spytihněv see František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého* (History of the Czech Nation) I, s. a. (Rieger's edition), p. 163, on their arrival in Visegrád see Timkó, Imre, o. c., p. 399.
 19. Cf. also Holinka, Rudolf, o. c. (see note 12), pp. 194–201.
 20. See SRH II, p. 381.
 21. Cf. *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, ed. Bretholz, Berthold, *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, nova series II, Berlin 1923, p. 324.
 22. See SRH II, p. 378, also Holinka Rudolf, o. c. (see note 12), p. 193.
 23. Stephen was canonized on the proposal of Ladislas on 20th August, 1083 at Székesfehérvár. See Györfly, György, o. c., pp. 389–390. Cf. also Erdélyi, László, "I. István magyar király, Imre herceg és Gellért püspök szentté avatása" (The Canonization of the Hungarian King Stephen I, Duke Imre and Bishop Gerard), *Szent István Emlékkönyv*, Budapest 1938, pp. 559–570.
 24. Cf. SRH II, pp. 382–388.
 25. Idem.
 26. Attention was drawn to this feature by Szilágyi, Loránd, "Irodalmunk kezdetei" (The Beginning of Our Literature), *Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (History of the Hungarian Culture), vol. 1, Budapest 1939, p. 446.
 27. Cf. also in particular Balogh, József, "Az "ájtatos" és "komor" Szent István király" (The "Pious" and "Gloomy" King Stephen), *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* 52/1928, no. 1–3, pp. 49–50.
 28. See Harnack, Adolf, *Das Leben von Pontius. Die erste christliche Biographie*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur, Bd. 39, H. 3, Leipzig 1913. Cf. also the more recent version of Pontius' work by Pelegrino, Michele, *Ponzio, vita e martirio di San Cipriano*, Alba 1955. Cf. also Horster, Dieter, *Die*

Form der frühesten lateinischen Heiligenviten von der Vita Cypriani bis zur Vita Ambrosii und ihr Heiligenideal, Köln 1963, pp. 32–49.

29. See SRH II, p. 377.
30. Cf. Dümmerth, Dezső, *Az Árpádok nyomában* (On the Trail of the Árpáds), 2nd ed., Budapest 1977, pp. 274–275.
31. See Kühár, Flóris, “Szent Mór, a pannonhalmi ‘puer scholasticus’” (St. Maur the ‘puer scholasticus’ of Pannonhalma), *Pannonhalmi Szemle* 11/1936, pp. 246–247. Cf. also Csapodi, Csaba, “A legrégebb magyar könyvtár belső rendje. Pannonhalma a XI. században” (The Internal Order of the Oldest Hungarian Library. Pannonhalma in the 11th Century), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1957, pp. 14–24.
32. See SRH II, p. 384.
33. Cf. Dümmerth, Dezső, o. c., pp. 164–165.
34. See SRH II, p. 392. The best literary, especially stylistic, analysis of the *legenda maior* is that of Horváth, János, jr. o. c., pp. 136–142.
35. Cf. I. Tóth, Zoltán, “Szent István legrégebb életirata nyomán” (On the Trail of the Oldest Life of St. Stephen), *Századok* 81/1947, pp. 23–94.
36. In my further analysis I have used the text of the *legenda minor* published in SRH II, pp. 393–400.
37. See SRH II, p. 393.
38. Cf. Györffy, György, o. c., p. 129.
39. Cf. also in particular Harnack, Adolf, *Militia Christi*, Tübingen 1905, also I. Tóth, Zoltán, o. c., pp. 69–71.
40. See also I. Tóth, Zoltán, o. c., and Gerics, József, *Legkorábbi gesta-szerkesztéseink keletkezésrendjének problémái* (Problems of the Origin of Our Oldest Gestae), Budapest 1961, pp. 14–17, and Mezey, László, “Szent István XIII. századi verses históriája” (History in Verses on St. Stephen from the 13th Century), *Magyar Századok. Horváth János Emlékkönyv*. (A Collection of Studies Published in Honour of János Horváth), Budapest 1948, pp. 41–51. The view is not supported by Csóka, Lajos J., *A latin nyelvű történeti irodalom kialakulása Magyarországon a XI–XIV. században* (The Formation of Latin Historical Literature in Hungary in the 11–14th centuries), Budapest 1967, pp. 623–646.
41. See SRH II, p. 397. It is also mentioned by Horváth, János, jr. o. c., p. 147.
42. See SRH II, pp. 396, 398. Where the author mentions saints whose deeds remain unsung there is a repetition of Horace’s quadruplet in *Carmina* IV, 9, lines 25–28, and the mention of the royal servants whose “souls melt like wax” is said to be attributable to Horace’s words “cereus in vitium flecti”, *Ars poetica*, line 163.
43. See Mezey, László, *Deákiség és Európa* (The Latin World and Europa), Budapest 1979, p. 57. A literary and especially stylistic analysis of the *legenda minor* is given by Horváth, János, jr. o. c., pp. 143–148. See also the collection of studies *Athleta patriae. Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez*, (Studies on St. Ladislás), Budapest 1980 ed. by Mezey, László, including the study of Gerics, József, “Judicium dei a magyar állam XI. századi külvilágolataiban” (Judicium dei in the Contacts of the Hungarian State with Foreign Countries), o. c., pp. 113–134.
44. On the question of Hartwik cf. in particular the monograph of I. Tóth, Zoltán, *A Hartwik-legenda kritikájához* (On Criticism of Hartwik’s Legend), Budapest 1942. Most recently Hartwik’s imperial sympathies have been pointed out by Gerics, József, cf. his study “A Hartwik-legenda mintáiról és forrásairól” (Precursors and Sources of Hartwik’s Legend), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 97/1981, no. 3, pp. 175–188. Here Gerics emphasizes the role of the ruler from Carolingian times of “rector (defensor) ecclesiae”, which the Hungarian kings Ladislás and Koloman also tried to adopt, and which acquired new topicality with the struggle over investiture.
45. On the question of Byzantine battle standards cf. I. Tóth, Zoltán, jr. o. c., (see note 35), p. 70.
46. In my analysis of Hartwik’s legend I set out from the critical edition published in SRH II, pp. 401–440. From the more recent literature on the subject cf. at least Horváth, János, jr. o. c., pp. 149–152, Ruzicska,

- Paolo, *Storia della letteratura ungherese*, Milano, 1963, pp. 84–85, Mezey, László, o. c., pp. 105–109 (see note 43), and Geric, József, o. c. (see note, 44).
47. Cf. Fulbert's letter to Bonipert in the edition of Koller, Josephus, *Historia episcopatus Quinque-ecclesiensis* I, Posonii 1782, pp. 13–14.
 48. Cf. Mezey, László, o. c. (see note, 43), pp. 107–108.
 49. See Györffy, György, o. c., p. 181.
 50. A modern edition and analysis of this chronicle was provided by Karácsonyi, Béla, *Chronica hungaro-polonica*, Szeged, 1969 (Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae, Acta Historica, tomus XXVI), and *Tanulmányok a magyar–lengyel krónikáról* (Study on the Hungaro–Polish Chronicle), Szeged 1964 (idem, tomus XVI).
 51. Of more modern literature not doubting the justification of identifying Anastasius with Astrik, though without agreeing as to his origin, cf., e.g., Uhlirz, Margaret, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter (...) Otto III, 983–1002*, Berlin 1954, pp. 566–571, and Györffy, György, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia II. Osztályának Közleményei 18/1969, pp. 199–225, and Archivum Historiae Pontificiae, 7/1969, pp. 79–113.
 52. See Györffy, György, *István király és műve* (King Stephen and his Work), p. 390. The question of the "sacred right hand" of Stephen aroused the attention of enlightened critical historians of Hungary, and the very founder of critical history in Hungary, György Pray, published a special monograph on the subject *Dissertatio historico-critica de Dextera Divi Stephani*, Vindobonae 1771.
 53. The text of the Imre's legend was published by and a critical commentary written on it by Bartoniek, Emma, in SRH vol. II, pp. 444–460. The most valuable works in the literature are the study of Madzsar, Imre "Szent Imre herceg legendája" (Legend of the St. Duke Imre) Századok 65/1931. 1–3. pp. 35–61 and the work of Tóth, Sarolta, *Magyar és lengyel Imre-legendák* (The Hungarian and Polish Imre Legends), Szeged 1962, Acta Universitatis Szegediensis, Acta Historica, tomus XI. A literary and stylistic analysis is given by Horváth, János, jr. o. c., pp. 153–157.
 54. On the subject of the Wenceslas legends of especially the edition by Chaloupecký, Václav, *Na úsvitu křesťanství* (The Dawn of Christianity), Praha, 1942, the edition of Bláhová, Emilie and Konzal, Václav *Staroslověnské legendy českého původu* (Old Slav Legends of Czech Origin), Praha 1975, and the edition by Ludvíkovský, Jaroslav, *Kristiánova legenda* (Christian's Legend), Praha, 1978.
 55. Further problems are mentioned in my studies "A 11. századi legelső magyarországi szentekről szóló legendák datálásának és tipológiai besorolásának néhány kérdéséről" (Some Questions of Dating and Typology of Legends Concerning the First Hungarian Saints in 11th Century) Történelmi Szemle 1982, no. 3. pp. 444–457, and "K dataci a typologickému zařazení legend o nejstarších uherských světcích 11. století" (On Dating and Typology of the Legends about the Oldest Hungarian Saints in 11th century), Historické Štúdie XXVII/1984, no. 2, pp. 93–108. The current Hungarian edition of the legends with further references see: Érszegi, Géza ed., *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek* (Legends and Instructions from the time of the Árpáds), Budapest, 1983.

ERRATUM

Because of a translation error in Péter Váczy's article "The Angelic Crown", in Number 1, Volume 1, 1985, on p. 16, in the last paragraph in a sentence the word "older" should be corrected as for "later". Thus the correct sentence will be: "As this text version relates the events in greater detail only up to 1108, the reference to the crown of "the saint king", i.e. king Saint Stephen cannot be later than this date." We apologize for the misleading mistake.

**ETHNIC AND SOCIAL STRATA
IN THE NAMING OF DANCES**
(DIFFERENT TYPES OF HISTORICAL
NOMENCLATURE IN HUNGARY AND IN EUROPE)*

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Language data, in the form of dance nomenclature, plays a role of prime importance in dance history research. This earliest and unduly neglected form of source material only began to be supplemented by records of melodies, artistic representations and brief dance characterizations at a considerably later date. Dance names, in representing a characteristic feature of the dance itself, always point to the place it occupies in human consciousness. Thus, in any examination of the relationships between man and dance, or dance and society, it is always advisable to begin from a consideration of this rich material.

The names of dances can be divided into two main groups.

The first larger, more diverse and older group consists of names which originate from some important contentual, formal or musical characteristics of the given dances. The most frequent names stem from the dance's characteristic type of movement (Fr[ench] *estampie*, It[alian] *saltarello*, G[erman] *Dreher*, H[ungarian] *csúrdöngölő*, 'barn-stamper'), from their forms (Fr. *les ronds*, G. *Reigen*, H. *karikázó* 'circle dance'), or from their tempo (Sl[ovak] *friška* 'rapid'), R[omanian] *rara* 'slow', H. *lassú* 'slow'), but the names of dances are often given by customary occasions (G. *Johannistanz*, H. *menyasszonytánc* 'bride dance') or by the objects they use (Fr. *branle de la Torche*, 'torch dance', H. *gyertyás tánc* 'candle dance'), etc. These names tell us much about the dance itself but less about the actual dances and their social relationships.

Another smaller, newer and narrower group of dance names indirectly reflect certain social and human relationships allowing us to draw conclusions about the life and spreading of the dances as well. In this category we may include, together with the names of individuals, the denotation of the names of peoples, of geographical places, social classes, strata and professional groups. This second group is primarily characteristic of European dance cultures; it is less frequently encountered on other continents, and is completely absent from the culture of certain peoples (Kurath 1964;

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Kurath-Garcia 1970; Merriam 1967; Martin 1966; Zhornickaya 1966; Karabanova 1979).

In Europe the different systems of naming can be traced continuously from written records dating back to the late Middle Ages to the ethnographical data of the 20th century, presenting a surprisingly unified picture of all the peoples of the continent (Sachs 1937). This might be explained by the fact that among European peoples, intertwined ethnically and culturally, and strongly layered socially in the Modern Age, the exchange of cultural products also manifested itself pertinently in dances. In spite of the complicated hierarchical relationships of peoples, nations, social classes, strata, and individuals, an efficient system of constant connections came into being, and the establishment of a unified cultural circulation in this system is indicated by the similar and homogeneous forms of dance naming irrespective of peoples and social classes. The wide interethnic and social use of names, the appearance of the same dance name among peoples of different languages and in different social groups serve to show that in Europe it is not only difficult to distinguish unequivocally between national cultures but also to separate rigidly the strata of peasant, gentry, bourgeois, popular and elite. Over certain short periods of time, dances apparently connected to ethnic, local groups, and even to social strata, also appear among other peoples or among different social strata in the same country, with a brief phase of delay. The circulation of dances not only occurs rapidly in the horizontal-geographical, but also in the vertical-social sense.

The present survey is built upon European material pertaining to the second group of dance names. Taking the 16–18th century Hungarian historical material of names as our point of departure, we shall examine the similar practices of dance naming among different peoples, and in the course of interpreting them, shall take into account the lessons of both 19th century and recent ethnographical material.

1. Dance names derived from peoples' names

Names of this kind reflect perhaps most sensitively the interethnic relationships of a given community, since dance and dance music have belonged to the rapidly changing and spreading phenomena of fashion in Europe since the late Middle Ages. Dance names referring to near and also more distant neighbours are characteristic of every European people (see e.g. Sp[anish] *Moresche*; It. *Brando la Spagnoletto*; E. *Spanish Pavane*; Fr. *Branle d'Ecosse*; G. *Polnischer Tanz*; Sw[edish] *Polska*; P[olish] *Madziar* 'Hungarian', Sl. *Kozáček* 'Cossack'; H. *Lengyel tánc* 'Polish dance', R. *Sírba* 'Serb'; Serb[ian] *Vlaško kolo*, etc.

The dance names that appear in national languages in the late Middle Ages still refer mainly to the characteristic movements and forms of the dances in harmony with older

types of nomenclature (Fr. *tresche, estampie, branle*; G. *dreskan, espringale, reigen*; It. *tresca, saltarello, trotto*; No.[rwegian] *trippa*—Sachs 1937, 250–296) and only later are they followed by dance names derived from peoples' names, first of all in Western and Middle Europe. In Thoinot Arbeau's (1588) collection of dances—which strives to present for investigation the complete French store of dances from his age—four dance names connected to peoples' names appear among the several dozen dance names considered: *Branle d'Ecosse, Pavane d'Espagna, Morisque* and *Allemande*. In the 17th century German sources (Böhme 1886), besides *Bairischer* and *Sächsisch* we also find *Polenscher, Polnischer, Ungerischer, Ungarescha, Judentanz, Englischer, Maruscat Tanz*.

In the Hungarian material we find the following names in Hungarian, Latin, more infrequently in German, and sometimes in Slovak and Polish languages: "Lengyel" ('Polish') = *Polepsi, alla Polacca, Polonica, Polonicus, Pohnisch, Polonoise*; "Tót" ('Slovak') = *Slawonicus*; "Oláh" ('Wallachian') = *Wallachisch*; "Cigány" ('Gypsy') = *Zingarica*; "Zsidó" ('Jewish') = *Semitta*; "Orosz" ('Russian') = *Rosz, Rusnaken, Moskowitisch*; "Kozák" ('Cossack') = *Kosak, Kozacky, Kozaken*; "Német" ('German') = *Germanica, Allemande*; "Stájer" ('Styria', 'Austria') = *Styriacus, Steyrisch*; "Török" ('Turkish'); "Hanák" ('dance from Hana, Czechoslovakia'); "Mór" ('Morris') = *Morescha*; "Görög" ('Greek') = *Griechisch*; "Angol" ('English') = *Anglicus*; "Magyar" ('Hungarian') = *Hungarica, Hungaricus, Hungarisch, Ungarischer*.

The examples mentioned above got to show that the dance names primarily reflect to connections with immediate neighbours. In French, German or Hungarian sources the first and most frequent to appear are the names of the neighbouring peoples, while the names of those living farther away are more infrequent and appear later.

The dance names derived from the names of peoples usually have the function of determining genres or types, and the dances and pieces of music thus denoted are the vehicles of specific formal, musical and rhythmical characteristics. Among the pieces of similar musical sources, unnamed or bearing only the general names *tánc* ('dance'), *chorea, saltus*, those bearing the names of peoples stand out with their distinguishing features. The present day utilization of this way of denoting dances also offers a similar picture. In present day Hungarian and Slovak usage the dance name *oláhos* and *olahski* ('Wallachian') indicates a specific type of jumping dance which has mainly to do with shepherds and is related to an older type of Transylvanian men's dance.

In Romanian the name *sîrba* denotes a type of vivid Balkanic chain dance. *Ungureasca* ('Hungarian') denotes a characteristic pair dance of syncopated rhythm belonging to the Carpathian, Muntenian and Oltenian Romanians. *Ruseasca* ('Russian dance') is the name of an *impromptu* jumping pair dance of the Moldovian Romanians, while *țiganește* ('Gypsy dance') denotes a newer type of pair dance from the Romanians living in Central Transylvania (Bucșan 1971, 36–37).

The names of peoples as concepts denoting dance types—both in the geographical and the social sense—are of general use in the communities where they have taken root. Our Hungarian dance names *lengyel* ('Polish'), *oláh* ('Wallachian'), *tót* ('Slovak'), *zsidó* ('Jewish') or *cigány* ('Gypsy') appear almost simultaneously in areas far from one another and in different social environments. The situation is similar with the Polish dances spreading in Mid-Europe and Northern Europe in the 16–17th centuries (Ala-Könni 1956; Norlind 1910; Böhme 1886).

A special case is constituted by the utilization of the name of one's own people for the denotation of a local dance. In the original territory where the dances were used we can find examples of dance names derived from the name of the people itself. In the territory where the people in question live, this form of naming generally has no sense until warranted by specific cultural, national or social relation. The Hungarian dance name as an adjective only appears abroad, in German and Italian sources in the 16th century (Szabolcsi 1970, 9–52). Nor is the utilization of the Hungarian people's name universal in the 17th century. In the *Codex Kájoni* ("*Kájoni kódex*"), for example, the name Hungarian does not even figure among the dances denoted by Hungarian personal names, although the labels "*oláh*" ('Romanian') and *cigány* ('Gypsy') are already to be encountered here (Seprődi 1909; Szabolcsi 1970, 53–125). So at this stage Hungarian must be looked for among the pieces denoted as general *tánc* ('dance'), *chorea*, or *saltus*. The denotation Hungarian or *Hungaricus* occurs with greater frequency in those collections of Northern- and Western-Hungarian origin from a later date, which comprise a significant amount of foreign material (Szabolcsi 1970, 53–125; Burlas-Fišer-Hořejš 1954). The denotation Hungarian dance is increasingly more consistent in the 18th century (Muntág 1974). The denomination of dances by the people's own name may have been necessitated by the need to distinguish them from the diversity of foreign dance types, whose number grew rapidly. From the second half of the 18th century the influence of the initial stream of national consciousness played a part in this reaching its peak in the first half of the 19th century. At this time the adjective Hungarian is added to almost all the nouns denoting dances, but not so much with the aim of naming or recording them, as of giving special emphasis to the national character (Martin 1979, 165–167). This phenomenon of naming mainly appears among the small peoples of Eastern-Europe, where it was necessary to give special emphasis to the national character and culture in order to facilitate the revealing of national independence later on.

2. Dance names derived from geographical names

Such today no longer emphasize cultural relationships with other peoples, but rather those with groups of people living in the neighbouring territories and speaking the same language. These appear in greater abundance than names of peoples—their separate function makes them more necessary—and their historical appearance almost coincides with these latter. Arbeau for instance uses 12 different place names to denote the versions and tunes of the two most popular 16th century French dances *branle* and *gaillarde*. In Hungary such names are still infrequent in the 17th century. Only two are to be found in the *Codex Kájoni*, namely *Nyíri tánc* ('dance from Nyír county' [North-East Hungary]) and *Ötödik tánc Hatodon* ('the fifth dance in Hatod, Transylvania'), and none in the later sources. In the 18th century these too become more frequent. In the Ugróc manuscript of 1730 eight dances associated with geographical names can be found *Fejedvár*, *Csetnek*, *Csetnekiensis*, *Görgöy*, *Cassoviensis*, *Dopschensis*, *Rákos* and *Rosnyo*.

The denotative function of geographical names differs from that of the names of peoples, in that they mainly appear as supplementary attributes narrowing down the concepts alongside the nouns that determine the type of dance. They do not refer to different types of dances, but rather serve to denote the types of tunes or variations connected to them. In Arbeau's work they serve for differentiating between the variations and tunes of *branle* and *gaillarde*, while in 19th century Hungarian practice they denote the abundant storehouse of tunes and the individual tunes of the *Saltus Hungaricus* dances. When adopting dances from the related culture of the neighbouring territories, it is not inevitably necessary to find another newer name type; a narrowing adjective referring to the neighbourhood is sufficient for the indication of a smaller difference in music or choreography. Thus, the dance names equipped with adjectives referring to a local territory reflect the qualifying, enriching influences of the dances originating from local territorial and ethnical connections and relationships.

The majority of dance names of geographical origin are always of narrow, local usage; they rarely spread to farther territories and do not gain general acceptance in the social sense either. They only reach as far as neighbouring territories and where they do reach further, they are generally distorted, and lose their meaning. Neither are geographical names used as dance names in the territory from which they originate, but only in the close neighbourhood. The dance *n ne erdélyes* or *ardeleana* ('Transylvanian'), for example, is used not in Transylvania, but in its bordering territories: in the territory of Máramaros, Bihar, Bánát, in Oltenia, Muntenia and Moldova.

Examples of the usage of the local environment have again been known since the newer, 19th century formation of local consciousness. The Romanian *hategana* ('dance from Hátzeg', South Transylvania) was made into one of the national dances of the

Romanian intelligentsia in South Transylvania in the last century. This name, however, is misunderstood and distorted in the more distant, northern territories of Transylvania as *hărtaș*. Less frequently such dance names may reach more distant territories, and other language environments as well. Here we could cite Polish, German and Italian examples; for instance the *mazurka* 'Masurian' spread far and wide, as did the *krakowiak* 'from Cracow', and the dance name *hambo* (from the city name of Hamburg) which found its way to the Swedes. The dance name derived from the name of the Italian town Bergamo appeared several times in Hungary in the 17th century in different distorted forms (*Bargamasco*, *Pargamassa*, *Pargamáška*).

The dance names derived from geographical names are more frequent in Transylvania today, e.g. *marosszéki* dance ('from Marosszék, Transylvania'), *bekecsalji gyorsforgató*s (rapid whirling dance of Bekecsalja, Transylvania), *udvarhelyszéki verbunk* (recruiting dance from Udvarhelyszék, Transylvania), *kalotaszegi legényes* (lads' dance of Kalotaszeg, Transylvania). This is accounted for by the strong cultural classification according to small territories on the one hand, and by local consciousness on the other. We rarely encounter similar phenomena on the Great Hungarian Plain which is not cut into smaller territories and has a more unified dance culture. In the Romanian practice of dance naming the most frequent today is the usage of geographical names.

3. The dance names originating from the names of social classes, strata, professional groups

This third type also denotes the genre and type of the dances, and the dances get their names on account of the diverse character of their movement and music.

This group of names also appeared in the European method of dance naming at the beginning of the Modern Age. In Arbeau's work only the adjectives of two dance names refer to professions (*Branle des Lavandières*, *Branle des Hermites*), while in the 16–17th century German historical name material the picture of almost the whole society is reflected. The dances of rural strata are referred to by *Schäffertanz*, *Pastorum Tanz*, *Bauerntanz*, and the general rural character of the dances is referred to by the name *Ländler* (just like the English *country dance* and the Hungarian "*Csárdás*", where *Czardash* exactly means 'inn's dance'). Besides the general denomination of *Burgertanz*, names are derived from the names of trade guilds and other urban strata: *Schäfflertanz*, *Kesslertanz*, *Schustertanz*, *Barbiertanz*, *Studententanz*, *Bettlertanz*. The upper stratum of the social hierarchy produced the names of the following dances: *Adelstanz*, *Edelleute Tanz*, *Fürstentanz* and *Königstanz*.

The 16–18th century Hungarian dance name material has its own distinguishing features arising from local circumstances. The earliest and most frequent are the

denotations originating from the names of military groups. In addition to the earlier term *fegyvertánc* 'armed dance', the names *hajdú tánc* 'heyduck dance' (the heyducks were in Hungary cowboys and foot-soldiers in the 16–17th centuries) in 1553; *huszártánc* 'dance of the husars' = cavalrymen in 1568; *a fekete sereg tánca* 'the dance of the Black Army' (the name of the soldiers of King Mathias in the 15th century) in 1697 and *katonatánc* 'soldiers' dance' appear from the 16th century, and from the second half of the 18th century these are replaced by the name *verbung* or *verbunkos* 'recruiting dance'. The denotations *pajkos-*, *bojnyik-*, *zsivány-*, and *tolvajtánc* ('dance of the outlaws', 'dance of the robbers', 'dance of the thieves') served as pejorative descriptions of the dances of society's lower strata in the 17–18th centuries. The dance names derived from the occupation of shepherds, as *juhásztánc* 'shepherd dance', *kanásztánc* 'swineherd dance', appear in the 18th century when, following the disappearance of the heyducks' dance and the formation of the recruiting dance, the shepherd dances involving instruments were separated from the other male dances. The names referring to occupations denote gesticulating dances with characteristic choreography that spread through the fashionable international dances, like *baráttánc* ('monk's dance'), *borbélytánc* ('barbers' dance'), *vargatánc* ('cobblers' dance') and *csizmadiatánc* ('bootmakers' dance'). The dances of the highest strata of society are referred to by the following denotations: *nemeses* ('noblemen's like dance'), *Fiscariusé* ('dance of the village clerk'), *Palatinusé* ('dance of the palatine') and *fejedelem tánca* ('dance of the reigning prince', in German: *Ungarischer Tantz, des Fürsten aus Siebenbürgen*).

In Hungary the denotations originating from the names of two strata, which intertwined with each other—those of soldiers and shepherds—have become general and lasting. Because of the great significance of long-lasting border-fortress life and animal husbandry, these strata played an important role in creating culture and dances for a long time. Thus it is no wonder that the national consciousness emphasized almost exclusively the military character of Hungarian dances, this being further enhanced by the age of recruiting from the 18th century onwards (Martin 1979).

Although these names initially refer to the origin of the dances and their connections to strata, their usage was rapidly widened both in the geographical and social sense. Their appearance in different environments bears witness to the intensive dance relationships of the social strata and clearly shows the spreading of dances, for which class barriers were hardly an obstacle, to the relationships between peasant, bourgeois, noble, and popular and elite cultures. A good example of this process is the historical path covered by shepherd and soldier dances. After an earlier period when only shepherds and soldiers performed these dances—when only the heyduck dance was mentioned as being danced in the fields, military camps, yards of fortresses, fortress ditches, during battles or in inns—from the last decades of the 16th century they are mentioned in the circles of the bourgeoisie of agricultural towns, noblemen and even

the aristocracy; moreover the most outstanding representatives of the aristocratic nobility—military generals, bans, palatines and even princes—can be found among those performing or characterizing and recording the dances. We have records of the heyduck dance presented at university celebrations, parliamentary balls, even at coronation celebrations of the royal court (Réthei Prikkel 1924, 131–148; Szabolcsi 1970, 21–25). The data mentioned above indicates that the heyduck dance found its way, as it were, into the national literature being formed at that time. Those fighting with swords and pens not only danced the heyduck dance but wove it into their poetry, chronicles, and memoirs as well. In addition to this, foreign travellers represent the heyducks dancing in the foreyards of the border fortresses in etchings of great artistic value. Contemporary Polish and German music literature also recorded some stylized tunes of the heyduck dance in a few compositions, as J. Lublin 1540; W. Długoraj 1619; cyther tabulature of Dresden 1592, etc.

The dances denoted by names of strata rarely travel far since not only is the role and weight of the individual groups of one society different from that of another, but these specific dances may also not expect easy acceptance in a society of different culture and tastes. The influence of strata dances abroad may be founded within historical situations similar to that in Hungary in the 16–17th centuries. The specific, martial dance of the shepherd-soldier strata that played an important economic and military role was looked upon by West-European countries as the exotic symbol of heroic struggle. This is proved by data from Polish, Czech, German, Austrian and English sources.

4. Naming by personal names

This form serves as an indication of individual versions of dances (or figures), or, even more frequently, of instrumental dance tunes, since these cannot be recorded according to their words. This practice, known from French, German and Polish sources since the 16th century, has been revealed by modern research mainly from the Hungarian, Romanian (Niculescu-Varone—Găinariu-Varone 1979), Swedish (Bäckström 1974) and the Norwegian (Nyhus 1973) tradition, where hundreds of dances and instrumental pieces are denoted by personal names (see in Szabolcsi 1970, 31, 47, 48).

Arbeau distinguishes some *branle* and *gaillarde* with attributes of personal names (*branle d'Ariadan*, ~ *de Cassandre*, ~ *de Charlotte*, ~ *de Marguaritotte*, ~ *de Pinagay*, *gaillarde Antoinette*). In his book he especially warns his students to ask the musicians to play a dance and its music always by the appropriate name; the distinguishing personal name originates from the fact that sometimes dancers or musicians give their own names to dances which are accepted by the audience (Arbeau 1588, p. 119, and

131.). In 16th century German name material this type of naming is represented by two personal names (*Herzog Moritz-Tanz*, *Bruder Cunrad's Tanzmaass*).

In relation to Hungary the first of this type is the tune bearing the name of King István Báthory (*Batori Tantz*) which appears as a Polish dance in Czech, German, Swedish and Polish territories, and this personal name is preserved in a distorted form by a German record as well (*Ein Pollnischer Dantz pator* [pator < Báthory] Koch 1972). Three of the pieces in the *Codex Kájoni* are marked by the names of Transylvanian noblemen (*Mikes Kelemen Tancza*, 'Dance of Kelemen Mikes'; *Mas Tancz. Apor Istuan*, 'Another dance of István Apor'; *Apor Lazar Tancza*, 'Dance of Lazar Apor'), and in the Manuscript in Lőcse the name of a Polish starosta of the Spis (*Stanislaw Lubomierski*) constitutes the title of one of the dance pieces. The function of labelling by a personal pronoun is well explained by the *ad notam* lists by Pál Esterházy: "Az én lengyel tánczom. Más lengyel táncz. Harmadik Homonnaié. Negyedik szeg: Palatinusé. Ötödik ('My Polish dance. Another Polish dance. The third is Homonnai's. The fourth piece is the Palatine's. Fifth'. Bónis 1957, 268). So this form of naming serves to record the pieces within the same genre of dance music, and also shows that Esterházy too had his favourite Polish dance tune connected to his own name. The same custom is referred to by the playful title of one of his poems: "Palas s Ester kedves táncza" ('The favourite dance of Paul and Esther'), in which he hid his own family name (Esterházy). In the Ugróc manuscript (1730) personal names serve mainly to distinguish the pieces within the genre of *Saltus Hungaricus* (No.s 25. *A Drassy*; 48. *Hung. Gyüri Marton*; 52. *Hung. Ockay*; 205. *Dobozy Estvan*; 253. *Bubenk*; 266. *Oroszlay*; 297. *Nota, Dobozy*).

From the earlier, more scarce source-material it might seem that the tunes of personal names and dances were only connected to the names of famous aristocrats, palatines, princes and kings (e.g. *Thököli Imre táncza nótája* 'song of Imre Thököly', *Rákóczi nótája és tánca* 'song and dance of Rákóczi' (Szabolcsi 1959, 331; Esze 1977). However, in the Ugróc manuscript mentioned above a whole row of names of insignificant noblemen can also be found. Some lines by the poet Gvadányi (1787) also indicate that village Gipsies too attached personal names to their dance pieces:

"Lengyel-táncz vonáshoz hozzá is fogának
Négyet is ők egybe öszve, kavarának."...
"Egy tánczot el-vonván, meg-mondták hogy kié,
Uram! ím ez a táncz Fiscariusunké,
Ez a más pediglen, mi Kasztnár Urunké
E pedig a hídnál lakó Vámosunké."

(Quoted after Pesovár 1977. 40.)

The living practice of today's tradition offers a more detailed insight into this specific custom of naming. In Transylvania even today the instrumental dance tunes which can be connected to one dance type, i.e. which belong to one genre of dance music, are distinguished with the help of the possessive adjective of a personal name, or an appositive complement, inserted to the dance name: e.g. "*Kézsóé lassú magyar*" ('slow Hungarian dance of Kézsó'), "*Kiss Pali legényese*" ('lad's dance of Pali Kiss'), "*legényes a Tita Jánosé*" ('lad's dance of János Tita'), "*Székánosé a mars*" ('the march of Székános'). The dancers connect to the piece the name of the musician who usually plays it. As they usually get to know the tunes through different musicians, it becomes possible to distinguish between them with the help of personal names. An excellent dancer of Magyarvita (Kalotaszeg in Transylvania) for example kept an account of the tunes of all the lads' dances that he knew with the help of the names of altogether sixteen leaders of Gipsy bands born in seven villages in the neighbourhood (Martin 1977). Mostly only the Christian name or the nickname of the musician is inserted in the piece: "*Bercié, a bogártelkié*" 'of Albert, from the village Bogártelek', "*a Csipásé*" 'by the blear-eyed (musician)'. At the same time the name of the dancer may also be connected to the tune. For every good dancer has favourite chosen tunes in every type of dance which he/she asks the musician to play, and the orders are even paid for on occasion. In Szék (Transylvania) this can be permanently ("*örökösen*"), bought for a larger sum which means that whenever that person is in front of the band, they always play his song and it is not used on other occasions (Lajtha 1954; Virágölgyi 1982). This name, however, is valid only within the narrow community, within the village—or in the case of a larger village—only within a part of the village where the right of ownership is obvious to everybody. It is also only in the case of famous dancers or musicians known in distant regions that denotation by personal name is valid in a larger circle. Denotation by personal name reveals a specific dichotomy, in that the name giver can be both dancer and musician: the dancer indicates the tune with the name of the leader of the band, while the leader of the band uses the name of the dancer for identification. Thus the name of the same dance piece alternates according to whether we assume the viewpoint of the dancer or the musician. (This must also be taken into account when interpreting relics of musical history. It is probable that the recording musicians mainly used the names of the dancers.)

Thus this type of name giving is relative, and changes comparatively rapidly, being valid only for a narrow circle; nevertheless it reflects the most personal individual relationship between the dancer and the musician, between man, the dance and music which is accepted by the community's using and remembering these names at least over the course of one generation. Oral tradition has preserved innumerable personal names that have now faded, which are connected to tunes and dances, preserving the names of unknown leaders of bands and dancers.

The types of naming discussed above could only appear so consistently and uniformly in those places where, as a result of the changing dance fashions, a dance culture constantly developing and enriching itself was created; where the different types of dances survive in innumerable variations, and several musical genres possess a large store of tunes; and it is for precisely this reason that there is need for a manysided and diverse denotation. The older, elementary modes of dance naming have been supplemented by new ones since the Middle Ages in Europe, which would hardly be necessary in more closed and socially undifferentiated communities. Such types of naming make sense in those territories where the flow of dance and music between the different territories and social strata is very brisk, constant and lasting. In keeping account of the personality of the dancer and the musician, the individualization of dance and music culture is also expressed—something which is rarely encountered in the cultures of the Middle Ages and of tribes. This is how the form of naming dances becomes a true mirror of dance life, culture, and the cultural history of the peoples of Europe.

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MÁTYÁS BÉL, A POLYGRAPH IN HUNGARY IN THE 18th CENTURY

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From the middle of the 16th century, Hungary had to endure very hard times, quite until the early years of the 18th century. The country was torn into three parts: the western and northern regions, ruled by the Hapsburg kings, Transylvania and the north-eastern regions associated with it, and the southern and central regions, occupied by the Turks. Called Hapsburg-Hungary, the first region was more than once driven into uprising by the high-handed rule of the kings residing in another country and heeding the counsel of foreign advisers. Along the border of the territories under Turkish rule, where the newly-built border fortresses stood, fight never ceased between Hungarians and Turks, sapping the nation's blood, ruining much of the countryside and claiming most of the financial resources. Political division was deepened by denominational separation: the majority of the population had joined Protestantism, as a result of which an ever widening gulf arose within the population from the middle of the 17th century onwards, when the Protestants were driven back by the counter-reformation supported by the royal court. In the wake of the great peasant revolt in 1514, there were deep conflicts in feudal society. Most of the landlords developed own estates encroaching on peasant property, forcing their serfs to perform statute duty and imposing payment on them in kind and money alike. This was made possible by the fact that the peasantry had been deprived of their freedom of movement, thus having had been made defenceless dependants under the heel of their masters.

Amidst the ordeals of the country, the Muses were mostly silent. In the second half of the 15th century, during the rule of Mathias Corvin, Hungary was still in the lead of cultural progress in Europe. In the period that had passed since then, however, the image of the Hungarians deteriorated among all kinds of foreigners. That was felt especially keenly by the Hungarians from the end of the 17th century onwards, when rebuilding of the country could at last be started after so many years of destruction. Those of them who went open-eyed about the world, had to experience with bitterness that in the view of several travellers and scientists the Hungarians were somewhat indifferent to the general impression created by the nation in world opinion. In the eyes of some foreigners, the Hungarians sank to barbarism. Nobody was more aware of the

disadvantages arising from misjudgement, and mainly nobody else was more ready to refute them convincingly by offering a correct picture of Hungary and its people to international publicity, than Mátyás Bél. He was born in 1684 at Ocsova (Očova), county Zólyom. His father was a Slovakian butcher, and his mother a Hungarian; as proven by his enthusiasm towards the Hungarian language and the research work done later on its past, his mother tongue was Hungarian. The circumstances of his childhood did not promise much of a scientific career. His parents recognized his intelligency early enough, and did as much as they could to make good use of it by enrolling their son at a Lutheran school, as followed from their religion. Having had visited seven schools in succession, the young Mátyás only finished his primary and secondary schools at the age of 20. Not his diligence and persistence were lacking, and even less his abilities. His vicissitudes in schooling reflected the state of Lutheran education of the age. Maintained partly by private people, the Lutheran schools were always on the verge of extinction under the pressure of counter-reformation; the mostly undertrained teachers tried to cane at least a little knowledge into their pupils; Bél remembered with bitterness of his cruel schoolmasters even many years after his school years. It was only in his last year at school that he came into the hands of a good teacher, who then helped him to make up most of the arrears and laid the foundation of his university studies.

Under the conditions created by counter-reformation, the Lutherans could not have any institution of higher education in Hungary. Consequently, the Protestant students went almost in a traditional way to Germany, the Netherlands, England and Switzerland. The needy Bél succeeded in collecting enough donations to go to German territory, to the relatively new but already famous Halle University. The good reputation of the institution was owed first of all to A. H. Francke, since it was mainly his activity that had made Halle the radiating centre of pietism. Bél chose the ministry, but beside theological studies he had ample chance to master languages, become engrossed in history and get acquainted with the political sciences just being developed there. All these studies greatly assisted him in developing his scientific career.

The talent of Mátyás Bél was quickly spotted by his professors in the course of his studies at Halle (1704—1707), and he was asked to stay in Germany, where he had good prospects. However, he listened to the call of his fatherland, although Rákóczi's war of independence had created fairly uncertain conditions there. Besztercebánya, where Bél was given the job of deputy schoolmaster in 1708, belonged to Rákóczi's land, but a little while later the town had to open its gates to the imperial army, and the change of rule almost cost Bél his life. The fame of Bél's successful pedagogical activity made the Lutheran community of Pozsony in 1714 to invite him to head their badly deteriorated school. And the elders of the Pozsony community have not had to feel disappointed in their expectations, because the Lutheran secondary school soon began its brightest period in the town which had been Hungary's capital since the Turkish invaders had

captured Buda. The Lutheran aristocracy, and even some Calvinists, were anxious to send their sons there, and Bél was soon given the name "rector ac instaurator scholae". He followed the progress of the school with attention even after his election to the pulpit of the Lutheran congregation at Pozsony in 1719. He remained at the post until his death in 1749.

Pietism left a deep mark on both the religious and human behaviour of Bél the pastor and teacher. This is readily apparent from his religious books that have appeared in print: translation of the Bible, prayer-books, a summary of Lutheran doctrines, translation of various works encouraging to do Christian good deeds, and several forewords to the religious books of other authors. Moreover, he published "Imitation of Christ" by Thomas Kempis, with his introduction. What strikes the reader in his works is the spirit of tolerance—something quite unique in the age. His deeply religious feelings and true devotion stood out against the forbidding and outwardly dogmatism of Lutheran orthodoxy, which always led to religious polemics. Bél's whole life was imbued with living and active faith. And instead of engaging in external controversies, Bél was striving after internal renewal of the church, simultaneously being highly sensitive to the material and spiritual backwardness of people, especially of the poor. And he did not content himself with disclosing the misery, because his active faith, combined with some rationalism, induced him to lessen the squalor around him.

The spirit of pietism so apparent in Bél's life was also felt in his pedagogical activity, which yielded plenty of fruits in reviving the schools at Besztercebánya and later on at Pozsony. He had succeeded in opening a wide horizon to the receptive minds of his pupils, furnishing them with factual knowledge instead of pressing on with the usual formal tuition that consisted mainly of memorization of words. It was not enough for him to include the traditional subjects into the curriculum, but he also gave the pupils some realistic knowledge. Beside history, some geography and natural history were taught as well, all in the spirit of patriotic education. In order to provide a firm basis for tuition, Bél had written textbooks in rhetorics, as well as grammar books in Latin, Hungarian and German; of the latter, several ones were reprinted many times even after the author's death. He specified plans of tuition for his fellow teachers, issued written instructions, introduced meetings for the teaching staff and insisted on keeping education journals. Promotion of the mother languages was not neglected either. The methods of teaching were always adjusted to suit the comprehensive faculty of the children, whose interest was kept alive by captivating and illustrative methods, and even by experiments. In fact, even more than these, was achieved by Bél: to assist education, he established the first regularly appearing daily paper in Hungary, widening his pupils' horizons by directing their attention to world events.

The spiritual energies of Mátyás Bél had, however, been not exhausted by the very intensive and novelty-oriented activities on the pulpit and at the teacher's desk. He

strove after the sciences from the very beginning, and not only for changing his country's image to the better in the foreigners' mind. The principal driving force behind his scientific endeavours was his patriotism, the service to be done to his fatherland, so that also Hungary could come up with modern achievements in the realm of science. Moreover, he was also inspired by scientific ambition based on his endowments and erudition. As Bél was making headway into the realm of science, his aims became more and more profane. This is apparent from the dates of publication of his books, considering the years of first appearances in print: religious works were published from 1707 to 1729, pedagogical ones from 1717 to 1729 and scientific ones from 1713 to 1748. The mottos standing on the front pages of scientific works indicate the author's final aims very characteristically. In 1713, the pastor still wanted to serve God's glory through his work. In 1718 God was mentioned in the same breath with the world. At last, the motto chosen by the author in 1736 was "Veritate duce, comite labore", focussing the attention to search by earthly labour after truth. With laicized science prevailing over religion, also rational elements turned up in the books, pointing the way towards enlightenment.

Within the considerable linguistic abilities of Bél, who had mastered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Slovakian and German, his attention was focussed to the characteristics of the Hungarian language. His scientific approach began by searching for the historical roots of the language, examining the available finds of runic writing and reading the ancient literary works. It is of little surprise that in his early works ("*Historiae linguae hungaricae libros duos, genesim et exodum edere parat*", 1713; "*De vetere litteratura hunno-scythica exercitatio*", 1718) Bél had adopted the contemporary idea of tracing the Hungarians from the Huns, and the latter from the Scythians. As regards his first linguistical attempts, he wanted to derive the Hungarian language from the Hebrew. Later on, he expounded the connections of the Hungarian with the Latin, German, French and Slavic languages. At last, he had to see that the Hungarian language differed from all other European languages ("*De peregrinitate linguae hungaricae meletema*", 1734), and he even noticed the relationship to the Finns.

However, the investigation on the origin of the Hungarian language had opened an even wider horizon to Bél. He indicated his intention to treat the distant past and the present state of the country as early as in the Preface of his work on linguistic history in 1718. And in that year he published in the Leipzig periodical "*Wöchentliche Postzeitung von gelehrten Neuigkeiten*" his plans to complete a great work he was already working on: "*Notitia Hungariae*". It is sufficient to cast a brief glance on the plan to see the enormity of the task he had set to himself. The treatment of Hungary's past and present was divided into three main sections: "*Hungaria antiqua*" was devoted to the period ranging from the earliest days to Árpád's conquest of Hungary, "*Hungaria media*" treated the forthcoming centuries, up to the age of the Hapsburg

kings, whereas "Hungaria nova" was intended to portray the country's condition around 1730.

"Hungaria antiqua" was still bearing the mark of the then traditional idea of national genesis, according to which the lineage had begun with the Scythians, followed by the Huns, the Avars and at last the Hungarians. It should, however, be pointed out that Bél's treatment of history included not only the successive waves of great migrations, but also the territories where the events of politics and wars had occurred. Actually, even the historical and geographical description of the countries surrounding Pannonia was included in his plan. The chapter devoted to political history was to be amplified by describing the origins, languages, customs and religions of the four main nationalities of the region. "Hungaria media" was to describe the Hungarians of the pagan aera in a similar manner, then to deal with christianization and the age of the Árpáds and further on with the epoch under Hapsburg rule. In the general section of "Hungaria nova" the chapter devoted to geography was to include the following topics: name, location, size and borders of Hungary; climate and terrain; rivers, along with their conditions of shipping and fishing; beneficial springs; spas; mineral waters; lakes; hills, forests and stock of game; mining for metal ores; salt mines; vineyards and wines; agriculture. Also the political chapter of the general section promised many interesting subjects: Hungary's privileges; coronation and honour of kings; the national arms of the country; dignitaries of the church and the state; estates of the feudal society: the higher clergy, the aristocracy, the nobility, the lower nobility, the royal free boroughs and mining towns, the six towns of the heyducks; constitutional law and form of governments; Hungary's requirements; incomes of the state; mintage; customs; nationalities and languages; serfs. At last, the author intended to take a look at the counties of Hungary in a special section of the book, first the ones situated between the rivers Danube and Tisza, then east of the river Tisza and west of the river Danube, paying special attention to the following characteristics: situation, size, borders, population, fertility; the individual districts with their towns, market-towns, castles, major villages, rivers, spas, mineral waters, lakes and roads; the origin, privileges, coats-of-arms, history, advantages and disadvantages, climate, food supply and customs of the individual towns; magistrates of counties and the leading families, possibly with their genealogies and coats-of-arms; big estates.

Five years later, Bél published the final plan of his work in a decorative volume ("Hungariae antiquae et novae prodromus", Nürnberg 1723), so as to make it known in wider circles. The plan contained no major changes but, as it was apparent from the title, the author had regarded it as proper to drop "Hungaria media", and to insert "Hungaria nova" right after "Hungaria antiqua". The latter's chapters had been modified and extended: geographical information on the Scythes and the Huns was transferred into a separate geographical section, and a number of studies of linguistic

history were listed in the Appendix. In accordance with the modified plan, "*Notitia Hungariae novae*" was to be divided into a historical section and a geographical one, instead of the original general and special sections. The former was to treat the historical events by the rule of the kings starting with Saint Stephen, omitting the political information originally planned. And as regards the geographical section, it was to describe the name, situation, size, borders and internal division of the country, and to continue with the physical properties (situation, natural endowments) and political characteristics (population, magistrate) of the individual counties, along with the necessary information on towns, castles, villages, estates and main roads. Thereafter, the physical characteristics of the entire country were to be described, in accordance with the geographical chapter of the general section, but extended to caves, natural medicines etc. Also the modified plan of "*Hungaria nova*" was to include an appendix: the costumes and customs of the Hungarians.

The decision to drop the drafting of the chapters on constitutional law, internal politics and social strata, leaving it to a later date, was made in the course of writing the books. As indicated in "*Prodromus*", the documents relating to the diplomatic and genealogical sections had to be set aside because the material at hand was too much already even without them. Moreover, it was obvious that still more material was to come in, and the author had to make up his mind as how to economize on time and mental power. He then decided to concentrate on "*Hungaria nova*", trying to fuse the historical section already completed as much as possible with the description of the individual counties and towns, thus actually creating historical geography. That intention was only strengthened by the relative scarcity of essential historical sources on Hungarian history—a kind of hitch that had occurred every then and now. There were no national archives at that time, and—protecting their possessory rights—private persons kept their documents locked up, refusing even researchers to take a look at them. Some of the narrative sources, and right the ones of fundamental importance, were had only from hearsay at the time. A number of them were listed too in the Preface to "*Prodromus*", with an appeal to anybody safeguarding them to publish or put those valuable documents to Bél's disposal. For it was a strong conviction of Bél that no authentic picture could be drawn on Hungary's past until important archives were closed to researchers and manuscripts of great promise were hidden. "Give me two hundred documents dated from two centuries of our past", Bél was saying, "and I shall produce unparalleled results on the essence of the nation's history. Documents are to historians the same as the Bible is to theologians, law codes are to jurists and common sense is to philosophers". Bél not only gave detailed indication on which groups of sources should be saved from oblivion or final disappearance, inducing everybody to let their historical sources become public property, but he also deserves credit for having had organized regular collecting of Hungary's historical sources. His

efforts in that field showed the following essential characteristics, as opposed to the ecclesiastical data collection that had been the only such action previously: saving secular relics from annihilation, absence of any religious bias, objectivity, comprehensiveness, absence of prejudice, a clear-headed critical attitude towards documents of doubtful origin or validity, and publication of all documents that had proven to be authentic. As regards the narrative sources, Bél's work "*Adparatus ad historiam Hungariae*" (1735–1746) was the first major study of historical sources in Hungary. Beside that excellent primer, he had a major share in a huge source edition published under the name of J. G. Schwandtner and entitled "*Scriptores rerum hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*" (Viennae 1746–1748 and further editions); also that work is still in use. He intended to incorporate the most important local documents into the topographical descriptions in "*Notitia*" either by full text or in an adapted form.

And that intention was continuously realized, because the extensively ramified and gigantical plan of "*Notitia*" had sound foundations. "*Prodromus*" had become such a thick volume because, by a completely new method, Bél had inserted several complete chapters with plenty of notes into the text of the plan. Moreover, he referred to other sections that had been ready for publication, and indicated that there was not a single part without at least a sound basis to set out from. However, having had nearly come to nought once, his work met with difficulties owing to various external hindrances. The observers of later ages could not understand this phenomenon without knowing more about the age, with its political, religious and social contrasts.

Published in a German periodical, the first plan did not go down unnoticed in Hungary either. Some ill-wishers of Bél then took that opportunity to accuse him of preparing foreign invasion as a mercenary of some enemy country by collecting data on borderlands and fortifications. Those people went so far as spreading news about Bél's imprisonment on account of spying. But that charge was soon refuted in consequence of two original methods adopted by Bél for data collecting about historical geography of the country, a topic of new type totally unknown to wide circles. Partly, Bél issued the best pupils of the Pozsony secondary school with questionnaires, asking them to collect answers from their parents, ministers, one-time teachers during their summer holidays. Partly travelled all over the country himself, and also sent his co-workers, to gather data and impressions on the spot. In order to ensure safe working conditions. Bél asked for permission for data collection first from County Pozsony, in 1720. The condition of issuing a permit was that Bél and his co-workers were to carry the town's passports, and regularly report at the district administrators and the bailiffs of the big estates; moreover, they were not to meddle in religious or other affairs. The Esztergom archiepiscopal office, however, was totally unconvinced of the harmless character of the undertaking, and demanded that the entire action be nipped off in the bud so that the Lutheran priest and his envoy could not stupefy the ignorant people and strengthen the heretics in their deviations, thus

stirring trouble in the country and causing damage to the Roman Catholic church. The counter-action was effective: County Pozsony was soon ordered by the Royal Chancery not to issue a passport to the Lutheran priest without a royal consent, because his intention to roam the country as a historian had only been a fake. It was ordered that Bél be questioned at once about his nationality, the duration of his presence in the country and the person or authority who had ordered him to describe the conditions prevailing in Hungary. "That priest" was to stay at home until answers could be obtained on these questions. On receiving the summons, Bél had to understand with a painful surprise that not only his well-intentioned endeavour had been completely misunderstood, but even he himself had fell under suspicion. At first, he answered the questions with the peaceful dignity of an independent scientist standing above narrow interests, saying that scholars had the right by natural law and common law to choose such a topic for research. As a result, Bél was summoned before the Palatine, vice-regent of Hungary. However, Palatine Pálffy was sympathetic to his case on seeing the finished chapters of Bél's work, and approved the plan. That decision then opened the way to Bél up to the royal court, and after several audiences before the king he was even awarded, and given permission to commend the renewed plan of "Notitia" to him. Under such favourable conditions was "Prodromus" published in 1723, so as to prove to all the world the large-scale and well-founded major scientific character of the undertaking being superior to all kinds of petty and false reprehension.

Thus the author could carry on with his work with the highest backing-up, although it did not mean that all hindrances had been put out of the way. In the feudal world, where the fate of the individual was determined by his social standing, and in an age when the gravest sins against humanity were committed on religious accounts, there were many people who remained suspicious of, or even hostile towards, the Protestant pastor of peasant origin and his work risen from private initiative to the rank of national undertaking. The Jesuits who had already compiled a collection of documents by denominational evaluation for religious purposes, were downright hostile to the outstanding results achieved by Bél in disclosing and publishing secular documents and sources. Their efforts resulted in removing Bél from the head of the first Hungarian regular newspaper "Nova Posoniensia", thus putting an end to it. The entire Roman Catholic church, as well as the big estate owners, could not accustom themselves to Bél's intention to collect data also from the territories belonging to them.

Even if in the beginning Bél had failed to recognize the highly sensitive character of his undertaking, and the many interests it was to cross, he had no doubt about the magnitude of the work and the difficulties involved in it. It was clear to him right away that he could not succeed without co-workers. His firm conviction that it was absolutely necessary to base every plan on the sound foundation of sources compelled him from the beginning to turn to other scientists, well versed in the subject, because at

first: very few original sources were available for him. This applied especially to "Notitia", which had a really extensive and colourful plan. A number of co-workers had already been listed in "Prodromus", some of them having had contributed to the convincing character of the plan through fully completed sections, and Bél expected to win new aspirants for his case right by publishing an even better plan. Thus he not only asked all scientists to publish their valuable sources or place them at his disposal, but expected them to contribute to his work. The rather faint echo received to the appeal to assist him regarding the history of the Hungarian language was not very encouraging in that respect, in spite of Bél's promise to give everybody his due, and share scientific recognition with all co-workers. It must be admitted, however, that his own high ambitions strongly reduced the value of that pledge later on. Some of the manuscripts sent to him were either locked up in his cabinet for good, or published in a re-phrased form, in Bél's excellent Latin style, and under his name too. Nobody spoke about plagiarism then, of course, since the question of authorship was seen in that age in a different light. In any case, Bél's attitude to heighten his own international fame by all means made others refrain from co-operation, and contributed to the failure of his efforts to establish a Hungarian academy of sciences.

Bél must have had precious little hope to gain co-operation from foreign scientists in writing historical geography of Hungary, and more or less the same applied to Hungarian Catholics. The co-operation of Hungarian Calvinists could be hoped for with more reason. Since 1724, a major state office entitled *Consilium Regium Locumtenentiale* had been functioning in Pozsony under the heading of Palatine Pálffy, and later on of Prince Francis of Lothringia, the husband of Maria Theresia, and Bél had succeeded in establishing some form of relation with it. Owing to those connections, Bél was visited not only by Lutheran aristocrats, but also Calvinist ones, asking for his advice on how to protect the rights of their churches against despotic measures. Thus Bél could base on the help of protestants in general, some of whom had been able to undertake relatively high governmental functions in the years of religious tolerance during Rákóczi's war of independence. Most of the co-workers had come from the ranks of the Lutheran surgeons and teachers of the towns in Northern Hungary, and some of them contributed to "Prodromus" by supplying complete sections.

Beside the intellectuals living far away from Pozsony and occasionally contributing to Bél's work mainly in natural history, he had to have a team of close co-workers to cope with the considerable amount of far-reaching work, and it must be stressed that Bél deserves credit for having had established such a highly capable scientific team of researchers. And he had succeeded in that in spite of the fact that even the Lutherans were divided to orthodox believers and pietist ones. The former had gained the upper hand in 1707, and from then on they dealt severely with the latter. In order to be able to carry on with his work, Bél did not take a stand for pietism, but that attitude left

its mark on his entire activity and behaviour so deeply that he could not entirely escape from the attacks of the dogmatists, and had simultaneously lost the support of the adherents of orthodoxy, and even of the young theologians coming home from Wittenberg University, the second most popular German university after Halle. On the other hand, he received much more support from the best of his own disciples. In the field of history, his best supporters were his son, Károly András Bél, professor at Leipzig University in later times, and J. Tomka-Szászky; on the site examinations to collect and treat national customs and methods of peasant husbandry all over the country was mainly the task of J. Matolai, whereas valuable documents were sent for him from private archives by S. Dobai Székely. It deserves special mentioning how clever he was in guiding his co-workers towards the fields best suiting their abilities, teaching them how to search for reliable sources, assess them critically and make the best use of them. It is still surprising to see that all of his disciples based their work on original sources, and yet they were so much at home in classical literature, including poetry, and how accurately they quoted authors, ancient and contemporary alike. It is so much the more striking because they had no central library, and beside the set of books collected by Bél, they had access to only two libraries. In the field of natural history, the books of a famous surgeon in Pozsony, K. Rayger, offered them much information, whereas historical works were available from a legal scientist, I. P. Munkátsy, who had a good private library with many classics at Nagyszombat, in the vicinity of Pozsony. Although being a nobleman and belonging to another denomination, Munkátsy did not spare his books, but sent his well-guarded treasures to Pozsony by the cartful. He was, however, an exception, and most of the noblemen and the Catholics disliked the idea that "Notitia" be completed, whereas the circle of possible co-workers was drawn tight by the disaccord within the ranks of Lutherans. All these problems not only made Bél cautious in his dealings, but also demanded adaptation to the conditions in order to be able to attain his major scientific objective: the completion of "Notitia".

The fact that in order to escape from his enemies trying to wreck his scientific plans and even destroy his existence Bél had to appeal to the king's power only required a certain degree of accommodation, whatever difficulties it had created for him. The order issued to the counties to supply him with data and furnish the information required for his historical-geographical work would have been a good new in itself, but it had yielded hardly any results, and for even that meagre outcome Bél had to pay a heavy price: he was obliged to present his manuscript to the very county head whose county it was dealing with. In the course of the procedure of giving opinion of the manuscripts did it became obvious that most of the counties regarded Bél's activity with incomprehension mixed with distrust. In some counties, the nobility was afraid of having to pay more tax and raise more soldiers if realistic data would be published on their communities. In other places, the entire undertaking was regarded

as the registration of noblemen's estates, but it was stressed under a single breath that noblemen could not be obliged to prove their right to their possessions. In yet other places, the additional work involved in Bél's undertaking was found too burdensome, and often it became clear that in many counties there were no appropriately informed officials who could give the right answers. As a consequence, the answers came in very slowly from the counties, delaying the completion and publication of "Notitia". And even the answers sent back to Bél were mostly of not much use. Instead of answering in merit, several counties objected to the large number of errors and omissions found in the manuscript, saying that it were cheaper to draft a new text. And even if a county had made concrete remarks on Bél's manuscript, the useful ones were quite insignificant beside the objections and the points requesting omissions, especially in matters of religion. Bél was downright reprimanded for having had set the peaceful co-existence of three denominations in a village belonging to the Catholic bishop of Veszprém as an example to be followed. In that village, he stated, having only the Lutherans public worship, the Catholics and the Calvinists did not separate from them, but had common prayer with the Lutherans every day. That practice was found scandalous both by the county authorities and the national ones, especially because of the solely existing Lutheran worship congregation. According to the answer, such statements were derogatory to true Catholic faith, which was "the only legally recognized religion from the very beginning, and the only one permitted for public worship, whereas all other denominations were merely sects that had crept into the country clandestinely, having been tolerated merely because of an unmerited and vicissitudinous period; thus in order to save the only true and solely redeeming faith from any unlawfulness, the author shall be strictly ordered to omit all terms relating to the religion, and dare not even mention the subject of religion in the future". In other counties, Bél's intense interest taken in peasant customs was found suspicious, since in their view such a topic was unworthy of a historical work. The royal chancery, entrusted with the supervision of the affair, mostly approved the objections, forbidding Bél not only to mention religious subjects in his work, but also instructing him to keep clear of the possessory right of the noblemen's estates and to omit the description of meaningless and ridiculous peasant customs. And, representing the interests of the Emperor's court, in Vienna, it was added that the author dare not term insurrections against the Emperor as wars, Rákóczi's insurrection among them, since "wars are only possible between equal belligerent parties. The term rebellion shall be used instead".

The bureaucratic fussing and contrary opinions threw light on the unprepared state of feudal Hungary under Hapsburg rule to support such wide-ranging and far-sighted scientific structure as "Notitia" was. Mátyás Bél was ahead of his age, and had to make huge efforts to preserve the forward pointing central message of his work for posterity. His exceptional working capacity, patience and persistence were not sufficient to publish the four magnificent and bulky folio volumes of "Notitia

Hungariae novae historico geographica" (Viennae 1735–1742) with the excellent maps of S. Mikoviny and the description of nine counties, in addition also some concessions had to be given. Containing only the description of a single county, the fifth volume was only published incomplete after the author's death. Since the description of County Szepes had already been published as an example in "Prodromus", the descriptions of eleven counties of the total of 48 originally planned were available in publication. The drafts of the others were also ready to some extent, but their publication was prevented first by the death of Charles the 3rd [6th], then by the war conducted by Queen Maria Theresia, and at last by the sickness and death of Mátyás Bél. The manuscripts left behind by the author amounted to 82 big folio volumes, and several attempts were made in the following decades to publish them, but all in vain. Among others, texts remained in manuscript form which—e.g. ones dealing with Hungary's agriculture, economy, national costumes and peasant customs—represented special value because no higher authority had seen and censored them, consequently they still contain Bél's original conception without the slightest curtailment.

Mátyás Bél, who was justly named "polyhistor consummatissimus et celeberrimus" for his huge, multifarious and forward-looking scientific activity even abroad, could not live to see finished his greatest work, "Notitia", the extensive, elaborate and far unprecedented historical and geographical description of Hungary and her people, becoming public property of the scientific communities both at home and abroad. But even the volumes published in his life show him one of the leading scientists of one-time Central-Europe.

In the early years of his career, Bél no doubt had received much useful initiative from his professors at Halle (Ludwig, Francke, Cellarius, Gundling etc.), and in general from the representatives of political sciences. His unique ability was reflected by the fact that in his concept he went far beyond the sphere of political science of his age. On the one hand, he established political geography on a firm historical basis. And that was made so profoundly that "Notitia" has become a rich source-book as well, along with Bél's two other collections of sources, serving as an example of how to do away with the former limitations of objective source criticism, how to break away from historization limited to the events of the recent past and used as a weapon in religious polemics, and how to write secularized history of Hungary. On the other hand, historical geography was coupled with natural geography under the effect of the great experience of visiting the regions reconquered from the Turks and exploring integrate Hungary's natural resources. But Mátyás Bél had achieved more than that. He had succeeded in not only extending the concept of describing his country in an original way, but by fitting components of natural history, economy, knowledge of society, ethnography and medicine into the description, he had practically enlivened the genre, thus flinging open the door to a historical and geographical survey of the country

comprising the different aspects of human life. His aim was to leave nothing out of recording in script which would be necessary to acquire a profound knowledge of the physical and social state of the entire country. Thus the overall picture gradually included the depiction of natural endowments and resources, the method of husbandry, the population and their customs, legal conditions, ways of living and the state of civilization and culture, so as to offer a universal picture of the nation's life. Bél's grandiose historical concept was definitely centered on mankind, and examined the country's population by considering the interactions and correlations of the natural and human environment. And what is more, the author's patriotic conception embraced the entire population living within the country's borders, without differentiating by social standing, religion or nationality. He cut himself free from that feudal-type view of society according to which only the members of the ruling class were regarded as inhabitants owing rights ("regnicolae"). Bél would not accept any inappealable authority above him, and demanded a place in society not on the basis of belonging to some social class, but on the strength of his own capacities and achievements. He consciously regarded the entire country as his and the entire people's home. His patriotism embraced the whole Hungary, and while he set out to explore the entire fatherland, not for finding rarities but for discovering the simple folk under the ruling class, he was eager to record their work, feasts and culture. And in doing so, the historian inevitably compared his findings to the "one-time flowering state" of Hungary, and the open-eyed scientist having wide international connections and corresponding with many fellow scholars from Rome to Petrograd, made comparisons to the more developed conditions in other countries. In that manner, Bél's portrayal accomplished a critical attitude, expressing dissatisfaction with the existing situation and the inefficiency in making use of the country's natural resources. He did not hesitate to scourge the noblemen for merely safeguarding memories of their one-time military virtues, and neglecting their duties to practice husbandry and improve their education. And he had the courage to warn the rich on their duties to better public welfare and assist the poor. The portrayal of the past and the present thus pointed towards bourgeois individualism, as well as enlightenment, striving after the removal of preconceptions and inherited superstitions from the path of progress.

It is thus understandable why feudal society failed to appreciate Bél's epoch-marking activity. Much more recognition was awarded to Bél's splendid achievements in the scientific circles abroad. Published in Leipzig, "Acta Eruditorum" sent its best wishes to the originator of the well-written, nicely laid out and to the last detail clearly documented plan soon after the appearance of "Prodromus", and later on paid great tribute to each of the four volumes of "Notitia" which the editors had received from "the scientific centre of Pozsony". Of the first volume of "Notitia", the following was stated: "Although no outstanding work is in need of our recommendation, it has none the less been deemed proper to state that by either considering the abundance, selection

and appropriate lay-out of the subjects included in it, or the provision of literary references and source quotations, or the wit demonstrated in refuting idle talk, or the clever mixing of earnest things with pleasant ones, or the beauty and glossy finish of working, no desideratum whatsoever could be found to the immortality of Bél's name". Having had published two articles on natural history in "Philosophical Transactions" (1743, 1744). Bél became a member of the London "Royal Society". Previous to that, he had gained membership of the Prussian Royal Academy of Berlin, then of the Tzarist Academy of Sciences at Petersburg, the Scientific society at and the Latin Society at Jena. The Pope honoured the Lutheran scientist with golden medals bearing his portrait. And at last, let us quote J. Brucker, who in his work series entitled "*Bilder-sal heutiges Tages lebender und durch Gelehrtheit berühmter Schriftsteller*" (V. Augsburg 1746) expressed the following opinion in a lengthy appreciation of Bél's work: "His big plan to publish a full collection of works on Hungarian history, the fortunate proofs of the result, the gifts of acumen, wit and scientific erudition necessary for such a great and important undertaking displayed by him, as well as the impetus thus given to his compatriots not to leave all honour of science to other peoples, and his untiring endeavour to abolish the barbarism that has overcome his country, moreover a thousand other merits of Bél, bringing the fame of restoring scientific work in Hungary, have made him so famous that the portrait gallery of renown literators could be justly regarded as deficient without the profile of the excellent scientist of Hungary".

LE LEGS SPIRITUEL DE MÁTYÁS BÉL ET CEUX QUI EN HÉRITÈRENT

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Dans cette brève contribution au 300^e centenaire de la naissance de Mátyás Bél, j'aimerais attirer l'attention en particulier sur un aspect de son legs spirituel et de ses héritiers, aspect dont l'importance a toujours été très grande: il s'agit de savoir à qui appartient en fin de compte Mátyás Bél, qui a droit à son legs spirituel, qui sont ses héritiers? Laissez-moi répondre immédiatement à ces questions à la façon suivante: Mátyás Bél appartient à toutes les nations de l'ancienne Hongrie dont sa vaste activité littéraire et scientifique a enrichi d'une manière ou d'une autre le patrimoine culturel, en premier lieu aux Hongrois et aux Slovaques.

En guise d'introduction je voudrais aborder brièvement deux sujets. Quels étaient les rapports des Slovaques avec Mátyás Bél dans le passé — je pense ici à l'histoire de la civilisation — et comment se présentent ces rapports de nos jours, au moment où nous célébrons le trois centième anniversaire de sa naissance dans la République Slovaque.

L'attitude des Slovaques vis-à-vis du legs spirituel de Bél a connu au cours de l'histoire de la culture slovaque des changements compliqués liés à l'évolution économico-culturelle et au développement national du peuple slovaque. Autrefois, leur trait spécifique était l'ahistorisme — une ignorance totale des circonstances économiques, sociales, politiques et idéologiques à l'époque de Mátyás Bél, qui était à l'origine de l'interprétation erronée de son patriotisme hongrois (territorial). Au début du XX^e siècle, Bohuslav Tablic n'hésitait pas à ranger Mátyás Bél parmi les « grandes figures de la littérature tchéco-slovaque, à une place où il brille jusqu'à ce jour comme un astre au ciel de notre patrie, la Hongrie » (1807). Même Jiří Palkovič, professeur du lycée luthérien de Pressbourg (auj. Bratislava, en Hong. Pozsony) s'exprimait en 1837 dans les termes suivants: «...notre fameux Mátyás Bél... dont le souvenir m'est sacré». En revanche, Jozef Miloslav Hurban déclare en 1846: « dans ses traits de caractère social — flatterie, révérences pleines de phrases creuses, en ce qui concerne sa nationalité, sentiments cosmopolites débordants, tandis que dans ses écrits il se conforme à l'attente — sa phrase peut se muer d'un moment à l'autre, en un latin tarabiscoté, révélant un respectable Allemand, ou un Hongrois enthousiaste, ou même l'auteur tchèque de la Bible de Kralice... » (1846). À ce propos, il vaut la peine de signaler que c'est dans cette même année que parut, sous la direction de Ján Kollár, «l'Intervention

dans intérêt de la langue unie... », alors qu'une âpre lutte divisait les Slovaques en partisans de la langue littéraire tchèque ou en militants de la nouvelle langue slovaque de Štúr. À la fin du XIX^e siècle, Jaroslav Vlček, historien de la littérature, considérait Mátyás Bél comme un diplomate qui, tout en représentant la langue nationale, est en même temps « célèbre pour son caractère taciturne ». Au moment de la constitution de la République Tchécoslovaque, Jozef Škultéty nomme Mátyás Bél « le premier et le pire des Slovaques partisans des Hongrois (mad'arón soit renégat) » (1920). Ce jugement dur et injuste est une fois de plus lié à la lutte engagée contre le tchécoslovaquisme, tel que le représente Milan Hodža. Si ce même Škultéty avait su qu'en appréciant la description que Bél donne du comitat de Nyitra, c'était le comitat lui-même qui avait averti l'auteur que des noms de localité tels que Vrbové et Stará Turá n'existaient pas, car leur forme correcte était Verbócz et Ó-Tura, et même des noms de colline comme Havran « in historia hungarica non quadrarent » — c'est-à-dire qu'ils ne figurent pas dans l'histoire de Hongrie — il aurait sans doute adouci le rigueur de son jugement. Après cette date, les opinions et les jugements sur Mátyás Bél commencent à changer. L'historien de la civilisation Jozef Barát le considère en 1930 comme un héraut de l'éveil slovaque — ce qui signifie une fois de plus qu'il l'isole de son époque.

Dans ces métamorphoses ahistoriques des rapports des Slovaques avec Mátyás Bél, l'attitude négative de l'historiographie bourgeoise de Hongrie à l'égard du legs spirituel de Bél a joué un rôle important. Les ouvrages d'esprit bourgeois réduisaient son « patriotisme sincère envers la Hongrie » à une manifestation de nationalisme hongrois. A peu près au début du XIX^e siècle on commence à émettre des hypothèses sur l'origine hongroise tout au moins de sa mère. Voilà ce que Martin M. Kovács, pasteur luthérien de Modra écrit dans sa biographie manuscrite de Mátyás Bél « credunt quidam », c'est-à-dire certains affirment qu'elle était d'origine hongroise, sans préciser qui étaient ceux qui l'affirmaient. Ces opinions ont fini par aboutir au XX^e siècle à l'hypothèse que la famille Bél était d'origine hongroise et provenait de « filii iobbagiones », très exactement de soldats chargés de la garde du château fort de Zólyom. Il va sans dire qu'une hypothèse non appuyée par des faits est difficile à réfuter, par conséquent je ne rejette pas non plus à priori ces affirmations.

Voilà comment ont évolué au cours de l'histoire les rapports des Slovaques avec Mátyás Bél, fils du serf d'Ocsova (Očova) Mátyás et de son épouse née Erzsébet Csesznek. Le père de Mátyás Bél était sorti des rangs des serfs, selon certaines sources il avait hérité du droit de boucherie à Ocsova ce qui valut à la branche locale de la famille le surnom de Funtik.

A mon avis, il n'y a jamais eu de personnage dont l'anniversaire ait été commémoré — a une date aussi éloignée dans le temps que le 300^e année de la naissance de Mátyás Bél — avec autant de faste. En février de 1984, le Théâtre National Slovaque à

Bratislava a monté une pièce de Ján Solovič, artiste émérite, traitant de Mátyás Bél et intitulée *Clocher sans Cloche*. A cette même date, un certain nombre de poèmes d'occasion ont également vu le jour. Au mois de mai fut inaugurée à Ocsova, village natal de Mátyás Bél, la statue de l'écrivain, œuvre monumentale de Ján Kulich, artiste national. En décembre dernier, l'Institut des Sciences Historiques de l'Académie des Sciences de Slovaquie a organisé une conférence dans la maison de repos des membres et employés de l'Académie des Sciences de Slovaquie à Smolenice, sous le titre «L'Époque, la vie et l'œuvre de Mátyás Bél». Deux spécialistes venus de Hongrie ont participé à cette réunion, le professeur Imre Wellmann et László Szelestei Nagy, collaborateur de la Bibliothèque Széchényi. Les matériaux de la conférence paraîtront dans un volume à part sous forme de monographie collective. Le 20 mars 1984, le Foyer de la Culture Populaire et le Musée Municipal de Bratislava ont organisé un colloque sous le titre «Mátyás Bél et Pressbourg», accompagné d'une exposition. Le 22 mars un colloque a eu lieu à Zvolen avec la participation des travailleurs de la culture populaire de l'ensemble de la Slovaquie, le sujet étant une fois de plus Mátyás Bél. Les participants ont visité le village Ocsova, lieu de naissance de Bél. Pour le mois de mai de cette année, la Bibliothèque Pédagogique Slovaque prépare un nouveau colloque consacré à Mátyás Bél en tant que pédagogue, et c'est toujours en mai que se tiendra la séance commémorative de l'Académie des Sciences de Slovaquie. A cette occasion, des médailles commémoratives Mátyás Bél seront décernées pour «les mérites acquis dans le développement des sciences géographiques et historiques». Plusieurs monographies consacrées à Mátyás Bél ont paru de la plume de différents auteurs dont moi-même: j'ai publié deux ouvrages dont un plus étendu qui s'intitule «La plus grande gloire de la Hongrie» et un plus modeste sous le titre «Vie et œuvres de Mátyás Bél». Les ouvrages suivants ont paru sous forme d'édition bibliophile: Pozsony dans les œuvres de Mátyás Bél — contenant plusieurs chapitres de *Notitia* accompagnés de traductions. De l'état actuel de la ville de Pozsony; Du château de Pozsony et Dévény; Mátyás Bél et les vins de Szentgyörgy; Mátyás Bél à propos de l'histoire de la géographie à partir des temps les plus anciens; la préface écrite par Bél au manuel scolaire de János Tomka-Szászky *Introductio in orbis hodierni geographiam* (1784) en traduction. Signalons encore la publication de plusieurs études et articles. La commémoration de l'anniversaire de la naissance de Mátyás Bél a pris des dimensions tout à fait extraordinaires en Tchécoslovaquie: on a mis en circulation une monnaie d'argent de la valeur de cent couronnes ornée de l'effigie de Mátyás Bél, et l'on envisage d'émettre des timbre-poste et des médailles commémoratives.

Dans le village natal de Mátyás Bél, le président du Comité National Local, saluant les participants du colloque de Zvolen mentionné plus haut, a souligné deux choses, à savoir l'origine et la conscience slovaque de Bél ainsi que le patriotisme qui le rattachait à la Hongrie et dont est pénétrée toute son œuvre littéraire et scientifique. En effet, ce

sont là les deux points de vue importants qui ont également présidé aux festivités du 300^e anniversaire de sa naissance dans la République Socialiste de Slovaquie.

L'amour de la Hongrie est le motif fondamental de ses travaux littéraires et surtout de ceux consacrés à la connaissance de la terre natale. En 1718, à l'époque où il commença à travailler à son grand projet géographique et historique, *Antiqua et nova Hungaria* (*Notitia* ne constitue que la forme réalisée de la partie intitulée *Geographia Hungaria Nova*), il écrit dans une lettre adressée à Pál Ráday, dans le comitat de Nógrád, que cet ouvrage fera honneur «à la plus douce des patries». Accusé d'espionnage pour le compte de puissances étrangères en juin 1720, Bél répond dans sa «très humble déclaration» à deux questions qui lui sont posées par la commission impériale. La première a trait à sa nationalité, la seconde aux personnes qui l'ont changé de ce travail. À la première Bél répond qu'il est né et a été élevé «dans le glorieux comitat de Zólyom de la plus chère Hongrie», à la deuxième, que le travail lui avait été dicté par lui-même et par l'amour qu'il portait à la patrie. «*Amor patriae*», l'amour de la patrie hongroise et «*Salus patriae*», le salut de la patrie sont les seuls motifs qu'il déclare siens dans ses ouvrages destinées à la connaissance de la terre natal. Dans une de ses traductions de caractère religieux, il se donne le nom de Patriote Hongrois.

Le patriotisme hongrois de Mátyás Bél, savant de Hongrie d'origine slovaque est loin d'être un phénomène isolé, il s'agit bien plutôt d'une attitude typique. Le fait que les Slovaques — la noblesse, la bourgeoisie tout comme les serfs — ont participé à la défense et à l'édification de l'État, en particulier aux luttes contre les Turcs et aux soulèvements contre les Habsbourg, est un résultat, une conséquence de l'existence de l'État hongrois fondé 800 ans auparavant. Au début du XVIII^e siècle, les représentants de la noblesse moyenne hongroise commencèrent à s'attaquer à l'égalité en droit des Slovaques, peuple soit disant conquis par les Hongrois. Un des principaux représentants de cette attitude hostile était Mihály Bencsik, professeur de droit à l'université de Nagyszombat, qui publia en 1722 un ouvrage intitulé *Novissima diaeta*. En 1828, Ján Baltazár Magin est chargé par la noblesse slovaque du comitat de Trencsén de faire paraître une apologie des Slovaques. En 1733 Sámuel Timon expose dans son *Imago antiqua Hungariae* une théorie selon laquelle les Slovaques reçurent les Hongrois avec hospitalité dans leur nouvelle patrie et conclurent un accord avec eux. Mátyás Bél lui-même, en décrivant le comitat de Trencsén, ou il cite longuement l'*Apologie* de Magin, ainsi que dans la description des comitats de Pozsony, Zólyom et Nógrád, s'identifie entièrement avec la défense de l'égalité en droits des Slovaques en Hongrie. Le patriotisme de Bél n'est bien entendu pas le patriotisme de la noblesse, pas plus qu'il n'est identique à celui de l'intelligentsia hongroise de l'époque qui était évidemment plus «hongroise». Il connaissait fort bien la langue hongroise, qu'il avait commencé à apprendre dans les écoles de Losonc, Kálnok et Alsósztregova entretenues par la noblesse, et il alla même perfectionner son savoir à l'époque de ses

études secondaires à Veszprém et Pápa. Dans l'ouvrage *Notitia*, il déclare plusieurs fois que les Hongrois sont les maîtres dans la patrie « Hungari, domini in patria ». Dans mes travaux consacrés à Mátyás Bél, auxquels j'ai fait allusion plus haut, j'ai insisté sur le fait que Bél a travaillé beaucoup plus dans l'intérêt de l'histoire et de la culture hongroises, dans le sens strict du terme, que pour la « natio slavica » qui était celle de ses parents. Non seulement il reconnaissait que les Hongrois étaient la nation détenant le pouvoir en Hongrie, mais sa sympathie pour la langue et la culture hongroises a certainement été influencée par son adhésion au programme idéologique et politique « pro Libertate » de François Rákóczi — et il est notoire que le promoteur de la guerre d'indépendance de Rákóczi était le peuple hongrois même. Le jeune Bél avait écrit des poèmes en hongrois, et publié la traduction hongroise de plusieurs livres de caractère religieux. En 1713, il fit paraître un projet concernant des recherches sur la langue hongroise et l'ethnogenèse du peuple hongrois. Plus tard il écrivit un traité sur l'écriture des Huns et mit au point son manuel de la langue hongroise pour les Allemands qui connut plusieurs éditions. Son vaste projet original concernant les connaissances du sol natal, la *Hungaria antiqua*, était essentiellement hongrois, puisque selon sa conception de l'ethnogenèse des Hongrois, le peuple hongrois descendait des Scythes, des Huns et des Avars. Enfin, il ménage une place importante à l'histoire et à la culture du peuple hongrois sur les pages de ses écrits intitulés *Notitia* et *Adparatus*.

La solidarité de Mátyás Bél avec la Hongrie n'excluait toutefois pas ses sentiments slovaques tels qu'ils étaient déterminées par l'évolution historique. En décrivant les comitats de Slovaquie dans *Notitia*, il démontre et défend l'existence ancestrale et autochtone des Slovaques sur le territoire de la Hongrie. Il leur donne comme ancêtres les Sarmates, les Yazigues et les Metanastes, (c'est-à-dire une espèce de substrat pannonien) qui, à son avis, avaient conclu une alliance avec les Huns. Ces proto-Slovaques survécurent aux tribus Marcomanes et Quades, et après avoir absorbé une nouvelle vague de Slaves immigrés, ils devinrent les Slovaques actuels. Aux yeux de Bél, la population ancestrale autochtone du l'Empire de la Grande Moravie n'était pas identique aux Slovaques, puisqu'il mentionne une alliance entre Moraves et Slovaques. C'est de Bél qu'émane la théorie selon laquelle les Hussites ayant occupé certaines régions de la Slovaquie, ont contribué au renforcement de l'ethnie, de la langue et de la culture slovaques. Dans ses écrits il affirme aussi que les Slovaques avaient conclu une alliance militaire avec les Hussites tchèques contre les Hongrois.

Les sympathies slovaques de Bél apparaissent le plus clairement là où il défend les Slovaques de Hongrie du côté politique, tout à fait dans l'esprit de l'*Apologie* de Magin. Dans la description du comitat de Zólyom, dont le manuscrit était terminé dès avant la parution de l'*Apologie*, il insiste sur l'ancienneté des Slovaques et qualifie d'ignorants insupportables ceux qui déclarent dans l'historiographie que la nation slovaque jadis si puissante s'est glissé subrepticement sur le territoire de sa patrie

actuelle où il a été soumis. De même, en décrivant le comitat de Pozsony, il prend la défense des Slovaques et affirme que cette nation jadis forte et puissante est présentement la couche la plus utile de la Hongrie. Pour répondre à des opinions peu favorables aux Slovaques, il souligne leur ancienneté dans la description du comitat de Nógrád également, et il écrit entre autres dans *Notitia*: « Il y a lieu de mettre ceci en relief à cause de ceux qui, mus par une espèce de vanité, n'hésitent pas à affirmer que Slovaques, habitant la Hongrie du Nord s'y sont introduits de force en tant que peuple inférieur, et ayant été soumis ils portent encore les signes de cette servitude — à cause de ceux qui prétendent de telles choses, alors que les décrets royaux et l'histoire sont là pour témoigner de ce qu'il en fut tout autrement. » Ces vues sont traitées de manière plus détaillées encore dans la description du comitat de Trencsén, où il cite littéralement ou sous forme de paraphrases l'*Apologie* de Magin. Et voici pour compléter encore l'image de Mátyás Bél, Slovaque de cœur, une constatation qui se trouve dans *Notitia* à propos de la description du comitat de Pozsony. Le passage en question n'est pas sans avoir un intérêt autobiographique et porte sur la couche la plus pauvre de la population de Pressbourg, les prolétaires, comme Bél appelle les pauvres de la ville, parmi lesquels l'élément slovaque était déjà prédominant. « Et néanmoins il y a des hommes éminents (entendez: des Slovaques) dans la vie publique et dans la science qui ont rendu et rendent la ville et le pays célèbre . . . car le trait le plus noble de ce peuple slovaque est qu'il est à même de fournir des hommes compétents dans tous les domaines de la vie. C'est que ceux qui ont eu une jeunesse dure et qui ensuite se sont acquis une instruction supérieure, apprennent à être patients et serviront plus tard la cause du bien public. Et parvenus à une place où ils peuvent faire montre de leurs vertus patriotiques, ils y excelleront grâce à leur savoir plus vite qu'on ne le penserait, et ils auront vite fait de dépasser de plus d'une lieue ceux qui jusque-là les méprisaient ».

Bél est attentif aux conditions de vie des nationalités, à leurs rapports et il ne manque pas non plus d'observer leurs différends. Son principal but est toutefois de renforcer la bonne entente à l'intérieur du pays. En parlant des villes minières de la Slovaquie Centrale, dans lesquelles l'élément slovaque devenait peu à peu prépondérant, il prédit que cette Petite Saxonie (parva Saxonnia) va bientôt devenir une petite Slovaquie (parva Slavonia), ce qui ne l'empêche pas de se demander si, dans l'intérêt du développement de l'industrie minière, il ne serait pas plus avantageux d'y faire venir à nouveau des mineurs de Saxonie. A propos des Allemands de Hongrie, il fait état de leur amour du travail et de leur esprit d'initiative. Dans *Notitia* il s'intéresse toutefois aussi aux habitants du pays parlant d'autres langues, les Ruthènes, les Croates, les Serbes et les Roumains. En un mot, l'ensemble des ouvrages de Bél consacrés à la connaissance de la terre natale reflète les efforts qu'il fait pour rapprocher les peuples de la Hongrie historique et pour contribuer à la réalisation de l'unité politique à l'intérieur de l'Etat. Aussi sommes-nous d'avis que cette œuvre si riche, ce legs spirituel

si précieux appartient à toutes les nations de l'ancienne Hongrie, comme cela se trouve exprimé dans le message scientifique de Bél adressé aussi à notre époque.

Pour terminer, je voudrais m'excuser d'avoir consacré une place trop importante aux rapports de Mátyás Bél et des Slovaques et d'avoir surtout mis en relief ses motifs apologétiques. La raison en est peut-être que, du fait de notre histoire, nous autres Slovaques avons trop tendance à nous défendre. Quoi qu'il en soit, dans le plus étendu des deux ouvrages, j'ai consacré aux Hongrois un chapitre à part intitulé *Natio Hungarica* — le peuple hongrois à la tête des peuples de Hongrie. Mon autre écrit contient également un chapitre qui s'intitule « Les Hongrois, maîtres du pays ». J'ai estimé toutefois qu'ici à Budapest je puis m'en tenir au proverbe tout aussi connu en Slovaquie qu'en Hongrie: Il est superflu de porter du bois dans la forêt.

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NOTITIA HUNGARIAE NOVAE

HISTORICO GEOGRAPHICA,
DIVISA IN PARTES QUATVOR,

QUARVM

PRIMA, HUNGARIAM CIS-DANUBIANAM; ALTERA, TRANS-
DANUBIANAM; TERTIA, CIS-TIBISCANAM; QUARTA, TRANS-TIBISCANAM;

Vniuersim XLVIII. Comitatus Designatam,

EXPROMIT.

*Regionis Situs, Terminos, Montes, Campos, Fluuios, Lacus,
Thermas, Celsi, Solique ingenium, Naturae munera & prodigia; Incolarum va-
riarum Gentium, atque harum mores; Praeuiatuum Magistratus; Illustres Familias;
Vrbes, Arces, Oppida, & Vici; praetermodum aures; Singulorum praeterea, Ortus &
Incrementa, Belli Pacisque Conuersationes, & praesentem Habitus;*

Fide optima, Adcuratione summa,

EXPLICAT.

OPVS, HVCVSQVE DESIDERATVM, ET IN COMMUNE VTILE.

SACRATISSIMIS AVSPICIIS
CAROLI VI. CAESARIS,
ET REGIS INDVLGENTISSIMI,

ELABORAVIT

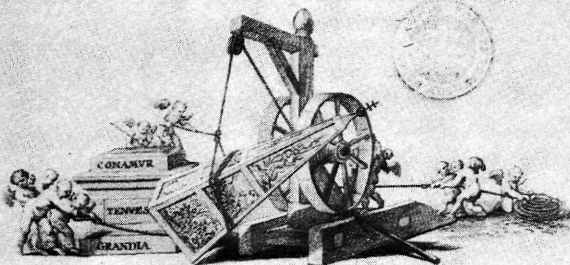
MATTHIAS BEL

ACCEDVNT

SAMVELIS MIKOVINII

Mappae, singulorum Comitatum, Methodo Astronomico-Geometrica concinnatae.

TOMVS PRIMVS



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Frontispice of Bél's *Notitia* (1735 edition)

UN JÉSUI TE BELGE EN HONGRIE AU SIÈCLE DES « LUMIÈRES »

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Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres

Le rôle de l'abbé Feller dans la polémique antiphilosophique de la fin du XVIII^e siècle est un aspect bien connu de l'histoire intellectuelle des Pays-Bas autrichiens de l'époque. Diverses études biographiques lui ont été consacrées,¹ auxquelles nous renvoyons le lecteur curieux des faits et gestes de ce personnage remuant, cet adversaire intransigeant de la « philosophie », ce polémiste qui se situe parmi les plus véhéments de ceux qu'on a justement qualifiés de « prophètes du passé ».²

D'origine luxembourgeoise, mais né à Bruxelles en 1735 et longtemps fixé à Liège, Feller appartient de plein droit à notre histoire nationale aussi bien qu'à celle du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, aucune de ces deux nationalités n'existant juridiquement ou politiquement avant le XIX^e siècle. Membre de la Compagnie de Jésus, il lui restera fidèle à travers toutes ses vicissitudes, et il connaîtra après 1791 les amères tribulations de l'exil.

Sa brillante réputation de publiciste, Feller la doit beaucoup moins à ses réfutations de Copernic, de Newton ou de Buffon (l'adversaire à qui il réserve ses coups les plus durs) qu'à la diffusion très large qu'ont connue son *Journal historique et littéraire* (Luxembourg 1773-1788, Liège 1789-1791, Maestricht 1791-1794), très répandu en Allemagne et en Europe centrale, et davantage encore son *Dictionnaire historique* (1781-83, 6 vol.), destiné à faire contrepoids à Bayle, à Voltaire et à l'*Encyclopédie*. Courtois et généreux dans sa vie privée, Feller réservait à ses écrits toute son apreté d'Ardençais, toute l'intolérante vigueur de ses convictions catholiques. Pour lui, « un philosophe est un monstre » et il n'a pas hésité à répandre l'absurde légende d'un Voltaire mourant rongé par la honte et le désespoir, et allant jusqu'à dévorer ses propres excréments. Il est inutile de revenir sur ces excès, assez courants malheureusement dans les polémiques religieuses du XVIII^e siècle, et qui n'ajoutent rien à sa gloire posthume.

Nous préférons aborder ici un aspect quelque peu négligé, et cependant fort attachant, de cette personnalité complexe: il s'agit de Feller voyageur, observateur des pays d'Europe centrale, et tout particulièrement de la Hongrie³ où il enseigna assez longtemps. Feller était mort depuis dix-huit ans, en exil à Ratisbonne, lorsque parurent ses notes de voyage, intitulées *Itinéraire, ou Voyages de Mr. l'abbé de Feller en diverses*

parties de l'Europe : en Hongrie, en Transylvanie, en Esclavonie, en Bohême, en Pologne, en Italie, en Suisse, en Allemagne, en France, en Hollande, aux Pays-Bas, au pays de Liège, etc. Ouvrage posthume, dans lequel se trouvent beaucoup d'observations et de réflexions intéressantes (2 tomes; Liège, Lemarié et Paris, Delalain; 1820).

Ces deux volumes rassemblent des notes manuscrites parfois assez anciennes et dont l'origine remonte à la désignation du jeune Jésuite, en 1765, en qualité de professeur au collège de Tirnaw.⁴ Cette première strate est écrite au présent,⁵ à la manière d'un journal intime, mais elle est complétée, revue et corrigée sur bien des points à la lumière d'expériences ultérieures. Pour faire bonne mesure, l'auteur (ou l'éditeur) a ajouté au voyage en Europe centrale des lettres et des notices relatives aux Pays-Bas, aux pays de Liège, à Paris, à l'Alsace, à la Rhénanie, au Brabant, au Limbourg, et même aux grottes de Han-sur-Lesse. Le tout forme un recueil très composite, qui n'a rien de commun avec ce que seront les récits de voyage de l'âge romantique. Feller se veut un observateur précis et scientifique.⁶ Son regard est attiré par les curiosités naturelles, surtout minéralogiques, par les monuments religieux et historiques, beaucoup plus rarement par les usages locaux et par les mentalités particulières (p. ex. vol. I, p. 173, sur la croyance aux vampires en Pologne).

Il n'en est que plus intéressant de dégager l'image que ce lettré venu des Pays-Bas méridionaux s'est faite d'un pays relativement peu connu en Europe occidentale; en d'autres termes, comment Feller a vu la Hongrie, et comment il l'interprète auprès de ses lecteurs de langue française. Certes, il serait fastidieux de reprendre intégralement et in-extenso ces notes éparses, dont la sécheresse fait parfois songer à un article de dictionnaire. Notre attention portera sur les notations personnelles, sur les détails révélateurs, sur la focalisation parfois surprenante du regard, mais aussi sur les limites et sur les faiblesses de l'information d'un étranger étonné et crédule.

La première allusion à la Hongrie n'est guère flatteuse, on en conviendra. Parlant des bibliothèques qu'il a visitées, Feller écrit: «à Tirnaw, chez nos Pères, les livres manquent. Cette bibliothèque est cependant la seule de toute la Hongrie, encore n'y a-t-il que la place qu'on puisse appeler bibliothèque» (I, 17). Feller n'est guère plus élogieux à l'égard de Tirnaw en général. «La ville est laide, quoique considérable depuis la fondation de l'Université, qui est toute aux Jésuites, et la translation du chapitre de Strigonie» (I, 18).

En septembre 1765, il se rend à Trentschin,⁷ «où nous avons une belle maison et une belle église : c'est le noviciat de la Hongrie». Première remarque positive : «Le pays, depuis Tirnaw jusqu'à Trentschin, est très-beau et très-peuplé. On y voit un beau château appartenant au comte de Reway,⁸ et un autre magnifique au comte Antoine Erdödy»⁹ (I, 20).

Mais Feller n'apprécie guère les conditions matérielles de vie dans ce qui est aujourd'hui la Slovaquie. «La pauvreté et la malpropreté des auberges dans ce pays-là sont extrêmes. Les draps de lit n'y sont presque jamais changés . . . En certains cantons

de la Hongrie, les paysans portent des chemises enduites de graisse, qu'ils n'ôtent jamais. Telle chemise se transmettra jusqu'à la quatrième génération » (I, 23). Même sarcasme à propos de Neuheusel,¹⁰ « ville démolie, mais très célèbre dans l'histoire de Hongrie; nous y fûmes tellement accablés de puces, que nous l'appelâmes *Pulicopolis* » (I, 25).

Nous voici, enfin, dans la Hongrie d'aujourd'hui, et tout d'abord à Esztergom. « Graan, ou Strigonie, est une ville vaste, mais mal bâtie. Les fondements de l'église métropolitaine, du palais archiépiscopal, des séminaires, etc., jetés par feu l'archevêque Barkozi,¹¹ promettaient beaucoup. On les appelle ici *Surgentes novae Carthaginis arces*. Il est incertain si cet ouvrage sera continué, *pendent opera interrupta minaeque murorum ingentes*. Tout était dans le même état quand je fus à Graan en 1767 ». (I, 27).

Le ton change lorsque Feller arrive à Buda. « Bude est une très-grande ville, qui en renferme trois; *Arx*, qui est proprement la ville, *Aquatica*, *Ratzianica*, qui est la ville des Grecs . . . Le nouveau palais et l'arsenal sont magnifiques mais la ville n'est pas forte [= fortifiée]. Placée sur une colline commandée de toutes parts, ceinte d'une simple muraille, elle a fait, en 1684 et 1686, une résistance inconcevable . . . On montre à Bude un endroit d'où le sang humain coulait comme un torrent dans le Danube durant l'assaut. On a laissé, par respect, subsister dans cette ville un reste du bâtiment qui renfermait la célèbre bibliothèque du roi Mathias Corvin. Il y reste encore aussi une mosquée et un minaret. J'y entrai, pour pouvoir dire que j'avais été dans un temple de Musulmans » (I, 28).

Même éloge pour Pest. « Pest est une fort belle ville; l'hôtel des invalides¹² est un des plus beaux édifices de l'Europe . . . le frontispice annonce la demeure d'un Roi. Les statues, les trophées, les inscriptions brillent de toutes parts. . . A Pest commence cette plaine immense, où rien, pas même un arbre, ne borne la vue. Du côté de Bretzin¹³ elle est rase de toutes parts; on l'appelle *mare siccum* » (I, 29).

De Pest jusqu'au lac Balaton, en passant par Alba Regia,¹⁴ Feller ne s'intéresse qu'aux monastères de divers ordres religieux, dont certains, comme les Paulins,¹⁵ sont inconnus aux Pays-Bas. Mais le voici devant l'immensité du lac: « On croit voir la mer. Les eaux en sont bonnes, les poissons grands et excellents; les tempêtes y sont fréquentes; je l'ai vu en fureur; les vagues étaient hautes. On assure qu'il communique avec la mer, et la chose est vraisemblable, puisqu'il y entre fort peu d'eau d'ailleurs; on dit aussi qu'il s'élève une tempête quand on y jette des pierres. . . Nous en avons jeté plusieurs sans effet » (I, 30).

Passionné de sciences naturelles, et ennemi acharné de Buffon, Feller s'intéresse aux poissons du Balaton, qui sont « fort grands et d'une figure singulière, ainsi que presque tous les grands poissons des lacs. Ne pourrait-on pas croire que ce sont des poissons de mer dégénérés, ou plutôt modifiés suivant l'effet que l'influence des eaux douces peut avoir sur les animaux indigènes de la mer? » Mais les poissons ne sont pas seuls à attirer

sa curiosité: « Il y a, à Véresbérény,¹⁶ près du Balaton, des escargotières que j'ai vues, et où l'on nourrit des escargots d'une grandeur inconnue aux Pays-Bas; les Hongrois aiment les escargots à la folie¹⁷ » (I, 33).

A Raab (ou Javarin),¹⁸ Feller découvre une belle ville, dont la cathédrale le déçoit, mais il s'attarde surtout au monument érigé en 1731 par l'empereur Charles VI « en réparation de l'horrible profanation de l'Eucharistie, qui fut le crime de toute la garnison en corps ». Le pape Clément XII était d'avis que les coupables fussent sévèrement punis, et que Raab fût démoli, « mais l'Empereur n'en fit rien », et Feller ajoute: « On a remarqué que depuis ce temps-là, les affaires de l'Empereur allèrent de mal en pis » (I, 35). En voilà pourquoi, s'il faut en croire ce Jésuite intelligent et cultivé, l'Empereur aurait perdu successivement les deux Siciles, la Serbie, la Bosnie et la Valachie. Pour lui, « la maison d'Autriche mourut avec Charles VI. La faute de Saül fut en apparence plus légère: il avait épargné les Amalécites ». Telle est la vision historique foncièrement archaïque et sacralisée d'un chrétien du XVIII^e siècle, d'un contemporain de Voltaire (dont les *Annales de l'Empire* sont d'ailleurs citées pour la circonstance). L'histoire des mentalités ne saurait faire fi de témoignages aussi éloquents.

Lorsque l'intérêt de son Eglise n'est pas directement en cause, Feller manifeste souvent plus d'esprit critique. En voici l'exemple: « Le Recteur du Collège de Bude m'a dit comme une chose miraculeuse que tous les ans, le 2 septembre, jour de la procession qu'on fait en action de grâces pour l'expulsion des Turcs, les aigles s'assemblent et viennent voltiger au-dessus du peuple; mais je crois que le bruit du canon de la place les fait sortir de leur retraite . . . j'ajoute que l'on peut dire des Hongrois, ce que le P. Schmitt, dans sa belle *Histoire des Ottomans*, dit des Turcs: *Gens quae omnia interpretatur* » (I, 36).

Les voyages de Feller dans le Centre de l'Europe ont souvent une motivation d'ordre scientifique et technique, et il n'hésite pas, à l'occasion, à revêtir la tenue de mineur pour visiter les mines. Mais on s'aperçoit, en le lisant, combien le goût du merveilleux coexiste encore, à cette époque, avec la curiosité scientifique: ici, c'est un lac au fond d'une mine où le fer se change en cuivre au bout de quinze jours; là, ce sont les démons montagnards dont les mineurs de Hongrie attestent la présence, et qu'il se garde bien de mettre en doute puisque « bien des choses incroyables sont néanmoins vraies » (I, 48-49); ailleurs, il remarque « que presque toutes les vaches et les bœufs de Hongrie sont gris, quoiqu'ils soient roux en naissant », alors que « les vaches de Suisse, transplantées en Hongrie, restent noires, même après plusieurs générations », ce qui, dit-il, « peut servir dans la question de l'origine des nègres ». Mais la réflexion la plus saugrenue sur la Hongrie est peut-être celle qui concerne les chiens de berger:¹⁹ ils y sont très semblables aux moutons, « ce qu'il faut expliquer par l'imagination » (I, 49).

À Presbourg,²⁰ il a vu un basilic, qu'il nous décrit avec un grand luxe de détails. « Cet animal a des pieds, il est ailé, sa queue est noueuse; il est tel, en un mot, qu'on peint les

dragons: il est donc sûr et démontré qu'il y a des dragons, c'est-à-dire des serpents ailés; et Kircher a raison d'appeler *obstipi capitis homines* ceux qui en nient l'existence». Qu'il puisse tuer par le regard n'a, pour Feller, rien d'inconcevable. Pourquoi ne pas croire qu'en fixant sa vue sur un objet il puisse « lui envoyer par les yeux assez de poison pour le tuer » (I, 55)?

Du basilic, Feller passe sans transition aux vins de Hongrie. On voit mal le rapport. Reste qu'ils sont excellents et qu'on regarde le Tokai comme le meilleur de la terre. Tel n'est pas son avis personnel: le Tokai convient aux vieillards, mais le Monte-Pulciano lui est supérieur. Parmi les vins hongrois, il tire hors de pair celui de Graan (Esztergom) et celui d'Agria (Eger), puis il se ravise soudain: « Mais quoi! J'oubliais l'*Hongria*, c'est le roi de tous les vins » (I, 56).

A huit lieues au Nord de Tirnaw, il a visité les étonnants caveaux de Cheita,²¹ qu'il a parcourus en rampant. Il rapporte la tradition qui veut que ces caves aient été faites par « les Hussites-Adamites, qui s'y retiraient, ou pour y faire leurs abominations, ou pour se dérober au zèle des Catholiques ». Mais il y a plus grave. « C'est dans une de ces caves que s'est passée l'histoire terrible de la Comtesse *Báthory*, mariée au Comte *Nádasty*.²² Elle sacrifia six cents filles à sa beauté, se lavant dans leur sang pour se blanchir le teint. Cette scélérate prit ensuite plaisir à manger la chair humaine et à voir expirer ces filles dans les plus affreux tourments. Cette histoire est certaine, quoique plusieurs y ajoutent des circonstances fabuleuses... Toutes les circonstances de cette histoire se trouvent dans les registres du Palatin Turzo,²³ juge de ce crime... On a cependant résolu de supprimer cette histoire dans une nouvelle édition du P. Turoczi (*Hungaria suis cum regionibus*), pour ne pas irriter la famille de *Nádasty*; celle des *Báthory* est éteinte. C'est ignorer les droits de l'histoire: elle doit dévoiler les grands forfaits comme les grandes vertus, montrer jusqu'où peut s'élever une belle âme, et quelle est la profondeur de l'abîme où entraîne le crime. Je ne sais si le monde a vu pareille atrocité depuis qu'il existe, dit le P. Turoczi; il désespère de trouver croyance » (I, 58—59).

La Hongrie lui apparaît comme une extraordinaire mosaïque de peuples et de religions. « C'est en Hongrie que j'ai appris à connaître cent nations différentes; car, sans parler des Esclavons, des Croates, des Arméniens, des Transylvains, des Allemands, des Français, des Italiens, des Polonais, etc. que je vois tout les jours à Tirnaw, il y vient des Turcs, des Arabes, des Maronites etc. Il y a même une colonie considérable de Russes près d'Unguar:²⁴ ils sont unis à l'Eglise Romaine. Du reste ils suivent le rit grec, et ont leurs popes qui sont mariés. Leur évêque réside à Munkatz;²⁵ il est zélé catholique Romain. Les Turcs sont à Semlin, à Posega etc., et viennent aux foires de Zagraf, de Cronstadt etc.²⁶ » (I, 66—67).

Viennent alors les considérations générales sur les Hongrois et sur leurs rapports avec les peuples voisins. « Les Allemands regardent les Hongrois comme un peuple peu civilisé: les Hongrois n'aiment pas les Allemands... Les Hongrois méprisent les Sclavons, dont le pays est rempli. Les Slavons respectent les Hongrois, comme la

nation dominante; mais l'envie et la haine accompagnent ce respect. Les Arméniens et les Grecs font bande à part : jamais je n'ai vu ni imaginé d'esprits plus nationaux : c'est vraiment *Regnum in se divisum*. Les Grecs que j'ai vus souvent, surtout les schismatiques, ont outre leur ancienne perfidie une espèce de férocité que leurs pères n'avaient pas : ils sont également barbares et ignorants ; leur habit, en Hongrie, ne diffère que peu de l'habit hongrois » (I, 68).

Et voici maintenant comment Feller voit les Hongrois eux-mêmes. « Le Hongrois est assez sincère ; il est cordial, serviable, bienfaisant, et s'attache beaucoup, dès qu'avec un mérite médiocre on lui paraît avoir quelque amitié pour lui : mais il ne faut point offenser la nation ; on bouleverserait tout l'univers, si on loue la Hongrie, tout est bien. Ce peuple a encore quelque chose du vieux temps, où la simplicité et la droiture faisaient l'honneur de l'humanité. Il est chaste dans ses mœurs, grave et honnête dans ses discours *ut prisca gens mortalium*. Les choses cependant changent à vue d'œil. Les Hongrois aiment les Français ; il y a un *certain je ne sais quoi* analogue au génie des deux nations : et de plus, les Français ont toujours loué leurs rébellions²⁷ et les ont soutenues par de puissantes diversions. Or tout le monde sait que les Français sont devenus le modèle de toutes les nations pour le malheur de la Religion et des mœurs.

La nation, en général, est assez docile et modeste, excepté dans ce qui concerne la guerre, en quoi elle prétend exceller. Elle aime à apprendre et à se perfectionner ; mais ceux qui font les savants sont insoutenables : ils ont tout le naturel de leur père *Attila* et de leur oncle *Buda* : aussi la littérature est-elle en Hongrie dans un état pitoyable. Newton y triomphe, ainsi que Boscowich, et tout nouveau faiseur de systèmes. Les nations moins cultivées ont toujours la fureur d'imiter le bien et le mal, le vrai et le faux qu'ils remarquent dans les peuples célèbres. Les Russes sont les plus furieux de ces imitateurs. Les Polonais sont en cela semblables aux Hongrois. Les Turcs commencent à imiter ; ils ont déjà des imprimeries, des livres français, etc.

La Religion triomphe en Allemagne et en Hongrie, quant à l'extérieur ; mais je n'y trouve pas, à beaucoup près, les sentiments et la solide piété que j'ai remarqués dans nos Belges, et dans ce qui reste de catholiques en Angleterre, en Hollande et en France. Etant dans le Luxembourg, je demandai à un homme qui avait beaucoup voyagé et qui avait un jugement bien solide, *où il pensait que se trouvaient les meilleurs Catholiques ?* Je crus qu'il allait dire : *En Italie, en Espagne, en Portugal*, il me répondit : *Dans le pays de Luxembourg* » (I, 68—69). Ce qui prouve que le chauvinisme belgo-luxembourgeois de Feller n'est pas moins vif que celui qu'il relève, à d'autres égards, dans le peuple hongrois.

Notre bouillant Jésuite a des doutes sur la ferveur religieuse et sur l'orthodoxie des Hongrois. « En Hongrie, il y a quelque chose de machinal : des soupirs, des inclinations profondes, des fraplements de poitrine sans fin : jeunes et vieux, pieux et méchants, tous font de même. Une nouvelle hérésie ferait bien des ravages » (I, 70).

Mais ce ne sont là que de minces réserves par rapport au jugement cruel qu'il porte sur les non-catholiques et sur les minorités nationales. « Les Hérétiques, surtout les Calvinistes, sont prodigieusement ignorants et barbares en Hongrie; je ne sais d'où leur vient la coutûme de peindre des coqs dans leurs églises; c'est là comme leur idole dans ce pays-ci; rien de semblable chez les Allemands... Depuis que j'ai vu nos paysans Slavons,²⁸ je n'ai aucune peine à croire ce que nos missionnaires nous disent de quelques nations Indiennes et de leur extrême stupidité; plusieurs ne peuvent compter jusqu'à 30. Celui qui m'a conduit jusqu'à Bude marquait sur un bâton, par autant d'échancrures, ce qui lui venait par jour... Ils comptent aussi leurs péchés sur des bâtons, et portent ces bâtons au confessionnal » (I, 71).

Il est vrai que Feller atténue aussitôt en note la sévérité de ses observations en remarquant: « J'ai fait ailleurs des réflexions sur cette stupidité, et sur le tort de ceux qui semblent s'en prendre à l'âme et au cerveau. Qu'on nous traite en Slaves, dit Voltaire, et nous serons Slaves ». Sartre ne dira pas autre chose à propos de la condition juive et de sa relation avec l'antisémitisme.

Si la nation slavonne est « très laborieuse, très pauvre et très gaie », que dire des autres? « Les nommés Singari,²⁹ Bohémiens, ont un air effrayant; ils demeurent dans des espèces de camps, comme les Tartares vagabonds, et sont presque nus. Les Slaves paraissent des philosophes en comparaison d'eux. Les Valaques sont encore pires. De la cettte épitaphe: *Hic est ille Dacus, scelerum Lacus, atque Valachus* ».

Suivent quelques réflexions sur l'état social des masses paysannes. « Le despotisme des nobles sur les paysans est extrême; ce qui leur plaît est à eux. J'ai eu peine à concilier ce droit avec l'humanité. Quand les seigneurs les font travailler, il y a plusieurs hommes à pied ou à cheval qui les aiguillonnent avec des fouets: il en est de même des Valaques. Pour que le paysan soit libre et à son aise, sans être dangereux, il doit être instruit, convaincu de la soumission qu'il doit à ses maîtres et pénétré des vertus de la Religion etc. Les Bohémiens ne se sont révoltés en 1774 et 1775 que parce que la suppression des Jésuites leur avait rendu problématiques les maximes de la Religion » (I, 72).

Voici pour les goûts des Hongrois: « Le Hongrois aime les couleurs tranchantes et brillantes. Les Turcs aiment le rouge. Les Hongrois appellent ces derniers *woros Torok*,³⁰ c'est-à-dire *rubros Turcas*, ou *Turcs rouges*... L'habit hongrois fait extrêmement bien à la jeunesse, il est plus propre que tous les habillements du monde à bien faire paraître un beau corps; aussi les Hongrois sont-ils fous de leur habit, et surtout de leurs culottes: bien des jeunes gens refusent d'entrer en religion pour ne pas mettre *caligas Germanicas*, des culottes Allemandes. Ils se font une loi de ce proverbe: *Omnia si perdas, caligas servare memento* (S'il vous faut tout perdre, sauvez votre culotte). Un de nos missionnaires, ayant fait inutilement beaucoup d'efforts pour convertir un village Luthérien, s'avisa de dire que Luther avait eu *caligas Germanicas*, c'est-à-dire des culottes à l'Allemande; le prédicant l'ayant avoué, tout le village se convertit. Le fait est vrai, et en même temps plus vraisemblable

qu'on ne pense; et il ne révolte pas ceux qui savent avec quelle facilité ces peuples ont tant de fois passé d'une religion à l'autre. Le peuple, en ces pays, est peu instruit des motifs de sa croyance; les ministres se sont beaucoup servis de la haine des Hongrois contre les Allemands pour faire des prosélytes; et les préjugés les plus grossiers et les plus ridicules tiennent ces pauvres rustres asservis aux opinions qu'on a intérêt à leur faire professer » (I, 75).

Feller constate que « les Hongrois, ainsi que les Autrichiens, ont un attrait particulier pour les études sèches et pénibles, par exemple les calculs, les langues, l'antiquité . . . ». En revanche, « ils ont peu de goût pour la littérature et les beautés de la philosophie, mais ils s'occupent beaucoup à connaître les métaux et les pierres précieuses; leurs cabinets en sont remplis ». (I, 78).

Ils sont aussi grands amateurs de chevaux, et experts dans leur dressage. Par contre, ils négligent fort l'architecture: « les maisons y sont mal bâties; la plupart sont des rez-de-chaussée ». Parfois, comme aux environs d'Alba Regia, il y a des villages entiers sous terre, et, dit Feller, « il faut être attentif pour ne pas se précipiter dans les maisons par les cheminées. En général, les maisons villagenoises sont très pauvres et très basses. Aux Pays-Bas, on les prendrait pour des étables de cochons. Les rues sont très larges; on trouve en tout cela quelque air chinois, à la malpropreté près ».

Feller en vient alors à parler de la nourriture. « Les Hongrois n'aiment pas les mets délicats, mais les viandes solides. Ils donneront toujours un faisan pour un morceau de bœuf . . . Les Hongrois mangent sans beaucoup d'assaisonnement, et souvent la viande n'est cuite qu'à demi. Ils ne parlent que de *bubula* (viande de bœuf). Le Carême ne leur pèse que parce qu'ils doivent se passer de *bubula*. Leur premier mot, en entrant dans les auberges, c'est *bubula*: l'aubergiste tuera sur-le-champ un bœuf pour en donner les viandes, une demi-heure après, à ses hôtes » (I, 85).

« Point de desserts dans ce pays-ci; après le rôti, tout est fini. Leurs sauces ne sont qu'une imitation des sauces allemandes et françaises; mais souvent rien n'est plus ridicule que cette imitation. Il y a quelque temps que les Hongrois ne souffraient ni bouillon, ni ragoûts; il ne leur fallait que de la viande mal cuite, mais en grande quantité. Si l'on est invité par un Transylvain, il faut porter avec soi son couteau et sa fourchette; on les porte attachés à la ceinture, ou dans le fourreau du sabre . . . J'aime assez les Transylvains; ils ont quelque chose de guerrier et de résolu, ne laissant pas d'être traitables et capables d'amitié. S'ils épousent les intérêts de quelqu'un, c'est avec fureur » (I, 86).

Sur cette lancée, Feller en vient à parler du préjugé de noblesse en Hongrie. « Les Hongrois sont, on ne peut pas plus, attentifs aux titres de noblesse. Chez eux, la profession des arts vils n'ôte point la noblesse; au contraire ils font grand cas d'une grande liste d'emplois bas et roturiers: grand nombre de pauvres sont nobles d'une ancienne noblesse accordée par le roi S. Etienne; ce sont souvent les plus fiers . . . Tout le monde est *excellens, nobilis, praenobilis, eruditus*, etc.: un écolier ordinaire est tout

cela ensemble. Ce goût est commun aux Hongrois avec les nations orientales. Plus de culture et de vraie philosophie corrigeront ce défaut. Rien en ceci de plus raisonnable que les Français» (I, 86—87).

Les notations de caractère intime sont rares, on l'aura remarqué. Une fois, cependant, il arrive à Feller de parler de lui-même et de l'accueil qu'il a reçu en Hongrie (I, 149—150): «Je dois reconnaître que, dans tous mes voyages, les Hongrois me font assez d'accueil; ils aiment et estiment les Français, comme je l'ai déjà dit. Quoique je sois Belge, et non Français, on m'appelle constamment *Gallus*, *Frenzoss*, *Franczuch*, *Franczuz*, *Franczia*. Peu de gens m'appellent par mon nom: le peuple, surtout, regarde les Français comme des hommes d'une nouvelle espèce. Lorsque j'étais à Neusol,³¹ on s'assemblait autour de moi dès que je paraissais pour dire la messe; ce qui m'obligea de la dire lorsqu'il y avait peu de monde à l'église. Un plaisant (l'admirable P. Sperantzi) disait qu'il fallait me porter par la ville enfermé dans un coffre, au son d'un flageolet. Mon exil les touche, et les porte à me l'adoucir, tandis qu'il ne me touche pas moi-même».

Feller parle aussi de la langue hongroise, de sa difficulté,³² et il croit y trouver, ça et là, quelques analogies avec son propre dialecte allemand du Luxembourg.³³ Ce qu'il explique, assez comiquement, par la présence de vieux soldats huns, en Champagne et dans les environs, après la défaite d'Attila, et par leur mariage avec des femmes belges (I, 189—190).

Il serait aisé de prolonger cette lecture à bâtons rompus et de multiplier les détails curieux rassemblés par Feller. Mais je préfère renvoyer mes lecteurs au texte intégral de ce savoureux *Itinéraire*, conçu sans ordre, au fil des souvenirs et des associations d'idées, déconcertant comme un coq-à-l'âne.

Au-delà de son charme anecdotique, il nous instruit à la fois sur son auteur, avec sa spontanéité, sa foi robuste et intolérante, sa curiosité toujours en éveil, ses préjugés inconscients, et sur la manière dont il a perçu la Hongrie, dans son caractère national profond, mais surtout dans le visage qu'elle présentait à la fin du XVIII^e siècle aux yeux d'un intellectuel venu de l'Occident. Tout n'est pas rose tendre dans ce portrait, à la fois sincère et tendancieux, mais au total la sympathie l'emporte sur l'aversion et c'est avec une bienveillance amusée que Feller rapporte (I, 74) le proverbe (sur lequel nous clôturons cet exposé) «*Extra Hungariam non est vita; vel si est, non est ita*. Hors de la Hongrie, point de vie; ou s'il en est ailleurs, il n'en est point de pareille³⁴».

Notes

1. La notice la plus détaillée est celle de A. Sprunck à l'article « Feller » dd la *Biographie nationale du pays de Luxembourg depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours*, Luxembourg, 1947, fascicule I, pp. 123-254.
2. On lira à son sujet l'attachante étude de R. Trousson, « L'abbé F.-X. de Feller et les philosophes », parue dans les *Études sur le XVIII^e siècle*, tome VI, Ed. de l'U. L. B., Bruxelles, 1979, pp. 103-115.
3. Nous respecterons dans cette étude l'extension géographique qu'il donnait à ce pays, conformément à l'équilibre politique de son temps.
4. Tirnaw: Nagyszombat, en Haute Hongrie au XVIII^e siècle, latin: Tirnavia, allemand: Tirnau; aujourd'hui Trnava en Slovaquie. L'Université de Nagyszombat fut fondée en 1635 par le Cardinal Péter Pázmány, archevêque d'Esztergom, primat de Hongrie, jésuite, au demeurant une des grandes figures de la littérature hongroise (1570-1637). Cette université fut transférée plus tard par la reine Marie-Thérèse à Buda, puis à Pest. (Nous devons ces renseignements, et tous ceux qui vont suivre, à la compétence et à l'amabilité de notre collègue Edouard Bene, à qui nous adressons de vifs remerciements).
5. Ainsî, I. 18: « A Tirnaw, où je suis depuis le 15 de Mai (1765) . . . Je n'y ai point d'autre plaisir que de philosopher avec moi-même, et d'entendre la belle musique de notre église », est corrigé par cette note postérieure: « J'ai été ensuite plus occupé; j'ai enseigné le français dans un séminaire, entendu les confessions, et travaillé à différentes affaires; et de plus j'ai eu l'occasion de voir la Moravie, la Pologne, et presque toute la Hongrie ».
6. Les paragraphes sont fréquemment introduits par la formule « J'ai vu ».
7. Trencsén, aujourd'hui Trenčín, en Slovaquie. Les magnifiques boiseries et les meubles du réfectoire de l'ancienne maison des Jésuites à Trencsén se trouvent actuellement dans le Musée du château de Nagytétény près de Budapest.
8. La grande famille hongroise des Révay.
9. La famille Erdődy est toujours vivante.
10. Hongrois: Érsekújvár; allemand: Neuhausel; aujourd'hui Nové Zámky, en Slovaquie. Érsekújvár signifie « château-neuf l'archevêque »; en effet, le château fort et la ville étaient la propriété des archevêques d'Esztergom.
11. Le comte François Barkóczy fut d'abord évêque d'Eger, puis cardinal et archevêque-primat d'Esztergom.
12. Aujourd'hui l'Hôtel de Ville de Budapest.
13. Debrecen; allemand: Debretzin, ou Debreczin.
14. Székesfehérvár; Feller la désigne par son nom latin.
15. L'ordre des Ermites de Saint Paul (dits aussi Paulins, ou Paulistes), est le seul ordre religieux de fondation hongroise. Créé en 1240 par le bienheureux Eusèbe de Strigonie, il est aujourd'hui encore très vivant en Pologne (par ex. à Czeszochowa).
16. Veresberény, ou Vörösberény, localité près de Tihany qui possède une très belle église baroque avec l'ancienne résidence des Jésuites.
17. Depuis un siècle, les Hongrois ont cessé de manger les escargots.
18. Győr, latin: Jaurinum; allemand: Raab. Javarin vient certainement du nom italien de la ville, Giavarino. L'église et la résidence des Jésuites y existent toujours. A l'époque de Feller, plusieurs Jésuites d'origine italienne habitaient dans cette maison.
19. Les célèbres « komondor », au pelage très épais.
20. Pozsony, allemand: Pressburg, aujourd'hui Bratislava, en Slovaquie.
21. Csejte, aujourd'hui Čachtice, en Slovaquie. Feller latinise le nom hongrois.
22. La comtesse Elisabeth de Báthory, veuve du comte François de Nádasdy (et non Nádsty). Son histoire authentique a défrayé le chronique.
23. Thurzó.
24. Ungvár, aujourd'hui Ujgorod en U. R. S. S. (Ukraine subcarpathique).

25. Munkács, aujourd'hui Mukačevo en U. S. S. (Ukraine subcarpathique).
26. Semlin: Zimony; aujourd'hui Zemun, en Yougoslavie, Posega: Pozsega, aujourd'hui Požega, en Yougoslavie. Zagraf: Zágráb; aujourd'hui Zagreb, en Yougoslavie. Cronstadt: Brassó; allemand: Kronstadt; aujourd'hui Braşov en Roumanie.
27. Qu'on songe à François Rákóczi (1676–1735) prince de Transylvanie et chef de la guerre d'indépendance hongroise (1703–1711) soutenue par Louis XIV.
28. Entendre par là: les Slovaques.
29. En hongrois: cigány. Feller s'inspire plutôt de leur nom italien, Zingari.
30. Lire: «vörös török»
31. Besztercebánya, allemand: Neusohl; aujourd'hui Banská Bystrica en Slovaquie.
32. «La langue hongroise est rude à prononcer et difficile à apprendre, elle a quelque rapport avec celle des Turcs: plusieurs mots sont les mêmes dans les deux langues... La langue esclavonne est moins difficile que la hongroise; elle est la mère de la bohémienne, de la russe et de la polonaise. Les Hongrois la détestent, et voudraient la détruire avec la notion, sans laquelle néanmoins ils ne sauraient vivre» (I, 88).
33. «Je trouve, dans l'allemand de Luxembourg, des mots hongrois; comme *kabos*, choux... *Az*, c'est cela, cela est... *Niclos*, Nicolas; les Luxembourgeois disent, *Niclos*, *Szent Niclos*» (I, 189).
34. Ce dicton remonte au début du XVI^e siècle: il apparaît pour la première fois dans les *Antiquarum lectionum libri XVI* (1516) de Ludovicus Caelius Rhodiginus (Lodovico Ricchieri, 1469–1525). Souvent repris dans des ouvrages encyclopédiques et géographiques, fréquemment cité par les étrangers avec une pointe d'ironie, il sera adopté par les Hongrois aux-mêmes, à partir de la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle, dans un esprit de fierté patriotique. Voir l'étude de M. Andor Tarnai, *Extra Hungariam non est vita*... Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969. (Je dois ces renseignements à mon érudit collègue et ami M. Tibor Klaniczay).

RECEPTION OF KOSSUTH IN ENGLAND AND THE MAGAZINE PUNCH IN 1851

THOMAS KABDEBO

The Library, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, Co. Kildare, Ireland

The Hungarian War of Independence had been lost, and Kossuth's internment in Turkey was drawing to a close. When Buol, the new Austrian Ambassador in England learned from Palmerston's answer to Dudley Stuart's question¹ in the Commons that Kossuth was to be released on 1 September, he anxiously sought the opportunity to sound Palmerston out on the matter. When in the second half of September, Palmerston received him in his country house at Broadlands, Kossuth was already free, and declared his intention to visit England, before going to America. The apprehension of the Austrian Ambassador was shared by his Prussian and Russian colleagues alike, and together the three diplomats communicated their governments' anxiety on the extreme danger that such revolutionary elements present to the peace and security of Continental Europe.² The English Foreign Secretary tried to reassure the Ambassadors that the Government would not be influenced by a friendly public reception in any way. As long as aliens did not abuse the right to hospitality, Parliament would not permit the Government to proceed against them. Furthermore, since Kossuth had no financial means to equip an army or a fleet, he should not be thought dangerous when free. Buol's immediate reaction was to absent himself from London for the period of Kossuth's visit, while his Government resorted to petty reprisals. The English Chargé d'Affaires, Magenis reported from Vienna that because of Palmerston's friendly attitude to Kossuth, the Austrians refused entry to British travellers into Hungary.³

The long-drawn diplomatic negotiations over the fate of Kossuth had exasperated Ferenc Pulszky, partly, perhaps, because he had no important role to play in his chief's liberation. Pulszky had been Hungary's plenipotentiary during the War; in the summer of 1851 he was the president of the Hungarian Refugee Association in Britain. The tone of his welcoming letter to Kossuth, written on 6 October from Southampton, is full of impatience, and his important information is mingled with indignation on further intrigues which lay in Kossuth's way.⁴ Pulszky complained that European diplomacy tried to keep Kossuth at sea (literally), to deflate the enthusiasm of the people. Every European refugee party—so Pulszky claimed—tried to put Kossuth's name on its banner. Mazzini's European Central Committee included the Rumanian

Bratianu, an enemy of the Hungarians. He had more cheerful news about his English friends: the former army officers and friends of the Hungarian cause were ready to help. Algernon Massingberd vacated his house in Eaton Place for Kossuth, and Henningsen set out to organise matters, so that he might receive anyone he wished discreetly; a subscription was being prepared in his name. But alas, his voyage from France (Kossuth was in Marseilles on 2 October), would be the longest in memory, Pulszky forecasted. The interest of the powers was to let him spend as little time on European soil as possible. To have the chance of further discussions and to help Kossuth impress American public opinion, Pulszky was ready to accompany his friend across the Ocean after his English visit.

The nearer Kossuth got to England the more Pulszky went out of his way to prove his loyalty and friendship. What bond held the two men previously together apart from the radical Magyar nationalism both had adhered to? Kossuth was a senior of Pulszky by twelve years, and like him a Protestant from Northern Hungary. Though Pulszky's family was by far the more prosperous, both men came from the middle strata of untitled Hungarian nobility, and both their respective ancestors were of mixed Slav and Magyar stock. They belonged to the most talented of the liberal opposition of the reform era; but while Pulszky, when he got himself into trouble, was whisked off to a foreign tour by his uncle, Kossuth welcomed the role of the martyr. Pulszky liked to be an eminence grise supporting a great man,⁵ while Kossuth had the mould of a charismatic leader. In 1837, when Kossuth was first arrested, the best school for a would-be political leader was imprisonment—the same as in our century: for it allows individual preparation and strengthens the sympathy of the community which awaits the liberation of the prisoner.

It was after Kossuth had served his first term in captivity and took up the editorship of *Pesti Hírlap*, that Pulszky joined him. Between 1841 and 1843 Pulszky wrote several articles in Kossuth's paper, and in 1847 he wrote a very flattering political character-study of Kossuth in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.⁶ When Kossuth received the position of Minister of Finances in Lajos Batthyány's Government in April 1848 he chose Pulszky as Under-Secretary of Financial Affairs.

In September 1848 the Government resigned and Kossuth emerged as the leader of the Committee of Defence—in fact, the country's leader—it was he again who sent Pulszky to Vienna to negotiate between Hungary and the revolutionaries there. Later, they rode together to the battle-lines at Schwechat. And finally, in November and December 1848 Kossuth entrusted Pulszky with the task of supplying arm and equipment to the army.

Anxiously waited by Pulszky, Kossuth was taking his own course on his journey. His first seven days of freedom were spent by travelling from Kiutahia to the port of Gömlek,⁷ where he was joined by Mazzini's secret agents Lemmi and Beriggi, and some Hungarians who, like Kossuth's small entourage, wished to settle in America. In

mid-September, the assigned American warship, the *Mississippi* called at Smyrna, where some of the refugees had stayed, and embarked at the harbour of La Spezia on 21 September. Colonel Monti, the leader of the Italian legion in Hungary and Kossuth's fellow captive at Widdin received him there, conveying a message from Mazzini for Kossuth to go through France. Four days later in the port of Marseilles Kossuth declared his intention to abandon the ship and proceed over land, via Paris, to London. The Prefect of the city sent a telegraphic message to Napoleon and after two days' delay the President's answer came, refusing permission for Kossuth to traverse French soil. In response, Kossuth gave a rousing republican speech to the people of Marseilles, adopting the motto of a French workman who had previously swum to his ship to embrace him, with the words: "There are no obstacles to him who wills."⁸ The Times reported the speech with the comment that, with this speech, M. Kossuth gave himself away: *he was in fact no better than the revolutionaries conspiring in England: Mazzini, Ledru Rollin and their associates.*⁹

This was the corollary of The Times's hardening attitude towards Kossuth. Having been on the side of pro-Austrian conservatism during the War, The Times somewhat changed its stance when it came to reporting on Hungarian refugees. On 7 October The Times, in fact, printed the text of Kossuth's speech in Marseilles, but also called attention to the anti-Kossuth views of Kázmér Batthyány, Hungary's last independent Minister of Foreign Affairs who lived in France at the time. On 14 October The Times printed an article entitled the "Advent of Kossuth" which voiced mixed feelings about the Hungarian governor. On 15 October a letter of Kossuth's to the mayor of Southampton was printed together with some unfavourable comments from the French press. In a long article on the 17th October, The Times apologized for its reportage of the War: "information derived from our own English correspondent" and mentioned that Kossuth was a revolutionary. The report of the arrival of Kossuth in The Times of 24th October was once again objective and unprejudiced. Having left France, Kossuth's next port of call was Malaga, and then Gibraltar, where Kossuth left the American ship, taking only his family and a few others with him, and promised his comrades who stayed on the *Mississippi* and proceeded to the States, that he would follow them shortly. After ten days waiting in Gibraltar, on 15 October he boarded the English ship, *Madrid*, which landed him in Southampton on 23 October.

The reception of Kossuth in Southampton was prepared by Pulszky with the help of Joseph Andrews, the Mayor of the city, and Rodney Crosskey, the American consul.¹⁰ The multitude was several thousands strong, the newspaper reporters were ready for a full coverage¹¹ of Kossuth's whole tour, and the politicians were out-bidding one another to get near the ex-Governor of Hungary. Pulszky claims that even Palmerston invited Kossuth to Broadlands through Lord Dudley Stuart who was waiting in the port to deliver the Foreign Secretary's invitation. Pulszky, on the other hand, was carrying a letter of warning from Mazzini, who had learned of Palmerston's intentions

and tried to stop Kossuth meeting him. The Italian patriot-conspirator saw a trap in Palmerston's invitation, claiming that all the Foreign Secretary and the English aristocracy wanted was to *disarm* Kossuth, who—by associating with them—would lose his popular appeal to the masses. To deliver this message, Pulszky outwitted his good friend Lord Dudley Stuart, and went out to Kossuth's ship on a small boat. But Pulszky was carrying another warning as well. Richard Cobden, who was anxious to meet Kossuth, and indeed did so, next day, had sent a word to him via Pulszky not to take sides in English political life, and "not to attend any banquet where other people make speeches".¹² The advice was obviously not to include himself though, as Cobden, already on the second day of Kossuth's stay in England, made a speech after Kossuth, at a banquet in Winchester. The gist of it was that in international relations no nation should interfere with the internal affairs of any other. Cobden, like Mazzini, warned Kossuth to avoid Palmerston.

Lord Dudley Stuart appeared on Kossuth's ship after Pulszky, and accompanied the Hungarian leader all around England. Kossuth thanked him for Palmerston's invitation and asked him to convey a message that he (Kossuth) could not accept the Foreign Secretary's invitation before he had spoken to the people of England, who accepted him as the delegate of the oppressed Hungarian nation. If Lord Palmerston would still like to receive him after such contact with the people, he would be honoured to oblige.¹³ In what form Lord Dudley conveyed this message, if he conveyed it at all, we do not know. But he certainly made at least one further attempt to bring Palmerston and Kossuth together. On 29 October he asked the Foreign Secretary to dine at his home at any convenient day within the next fortnight, in order to meet Kossuth. Palmerston declined the offer.¹⁴ Queen Victoria, alarmed by the possibility of severing ties with Austria, asked Lord Russell to stop Palmerston meeting Kossuth.¹⁵ When Lord Russell conveyed the Queen's wish, as his own, Palmerston's answer showed reluctance, but he complied.¹⁶

Political advice for Kossuth coming from Pulszky's other friends, was polarized on the question of whether he ought to meet Lord Palmerston and Giuseppe Mazzini. Professor Newman belonged to the *Circle of the Friends of Italy*—one of the off-shoots of Mazzini's Italian Committee—so quite understandably, he argued against Palmerston and for Mazzini.¹⁷ David Urquhart, who had visited Kossuth in Kiutahia at Pulszky's instigation, was hoping to gain his support for his anti-Palmerstonian campaign, but at the same time was warning him against Mazzini too.¹⁸ Evidently, in the eyes of their contemporaries, Mazzini commanded as much respect in conspiratorial diplomacy as did Palmerston in official diplomacy.

Kossuth met Mazzini in London on 30 October.¹⁹ They agreed to join forces for the liberation of Hungary and Italy. Synchronised revolts should be started in Lombardy, Venice and in Hungary, when they have suitably prepared the Italian and Hungarian elements of the Austrian army for it. Italy's final aim was unity and riddance of foreign

occupation, Hungary's future perspectives—as Kossuth saw them—were independence and a republican system, with a governor in charge. Kossuth and Mazzini differed on one important point. Mazzini believed the fight had to start immediately, following the presidential election in December, or in the spring of 1852 at the latest. Kossuth thought that a revolt had more chance of success if they waited until the outbreak of the Russian—Turkish war, which was bound to happen fairly soon.

Meanwhile the network of conflicting interests and intrigues around Kossuth's person head reached the other exiles. Prince Czartoryski tried to persuade Dudley to keep the republican Poles away from Kossuth. The German emigrants were equally split: Marx and his associates 'the Communists' condemned Kossuth,²⁰ whereas the 'bourgeois democrats' Karl Schurz and his organisation of German exiles sent a deputation to welcome him.²¹ The Hungarians were divided into three groups. Two of his former cabinet ministers, Szemere and Batthyány were overtly against him. There were those who kept at a distance from him: Sabbas Vukovics, his former Minister of Justice, Miklós Jósika, the well-known novelist, and his personal friend, László Teleki. The former plenipotentiary in Paris had disagreed with him—as reflected by the exchange of letters that passed through between Paris and Kiutahia²²—on two scores: he would not accept Kossuth assuming directorial powers in any future combination, and his own federative plan for Hungary and for the surrounding states would be less Magyar centred than Kossuth's plan.

The third group of the Magyar emigrants, which constituted the majority, turned to him loyally—in fact demanding his leadership. Csetz in Paris, Hajnik, Miklós Kiss, Pulszky in London, Újházy and Wass in America, and with them the scores of Magyars in diaspora were welcoming his release with enthusiasm, waiting for his word and ready to rally around him. And what is more, some of these people who identified Kossuth with the independence of Hungary, carried this belief to such religious fervour that they were ready to fight against overwhelming odds and endanger or sacrifice their lives at the first opportunity. Kossuth's belief, that at the next outbreak of war, Hungary would be liberated, was taken as a true prophecy by such people as Fülöp Figyelmessy, János Matthaides and Mihály Piringer, who volunteered to go to Hungary, with secret missions from the ex-Governor, to organize revolutionary cells inside the country.

While Kossuth appeared as an uncompromising republican to the people of Marseilles and a secret revolutionary conspirator to his fellow-exiles in London, he presented his case to the people of England as the defender of the constitutional liberties of Hungary. His public speeches reiterated almost exactly the same arguments Pulszky had been using in his propaganda campaign in 1849, and in his literary ventures of the fifties. Some of his advisers were the same as Pulszky's, like Dudley Stuart who, just as Pulszky, followed him around England and was chairman of four meetings out of nine. Still, it is striking that the outline for some of the speeches might

have been written by Pulszky himself.²³ His first speech in England, an expression of gratitude delivered to the multitude welcoming him at Southampton on 23 October, was a masterpiece of oratory disguised as an improvisation giving vent to pent up feelings. His second speech on the twenty-fifth, at the banquet given in his honour by Joseph Andrews in Winchester, moved the speaker himself, as well as some of his audience, to tears: Kossuth gave a summary of Hungarian history of the past decade, and at mentioning the circumstances of the Russian intervention "a burst of sympathy broke from the assembly".²⁴ The next public oration, on the twenty-seventh again in Southampton, dealt with the idea of liberty, with special reference to England as the chief upholder of the virtue as opposed to contemporary Austria wherefrom it was entirely lacking. On 30 October Kossuth spoke at the Guildhall in London, on 10 November in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, and on 12 November at a public banquet in Birmingham,²⁵ in each case emphasizing the special eminence of the town he happened to be in, and how this eminence was based on free municipal institutions—which was a key to free trade and prosperity. Parallel to this, Hungary had, in Kossuth's interpretation, a constitution which had created similar institutions.

These speeches freely incorporated the ideas of Toulmin Smith, the constitutional lawyer,²⁶ Richard Cobden, the apostle of free trade, and Ferenc Pulszky, the propagandist, in dramatized and personalized form, but propagated nothing of a Mazzinian revolutionary. Even the speech at Copenhagen House, delivered on 3 November, on an invitation of a London Committee representing the Trade Unions, was not aimed at inciting the working classes, which Kossuth's conservative critics so greatly feared, but at the most, modestly justifying the dethronement of the House of Hapsburg and vindicating the short-lived Hungarian republic. The two farewell perorations in the Hanover Square Rooms in London on 13 November, and in Southampton at the day of his departure, touched upon two themes which revealed Kossuth's political purpose, at least in general terms. He condemned the secrecy of diplomacy on high-power level (not among revolutionaries where he practised it himself), and advocated 'interference for non-interference', in other words, stopping Russia from dealing with Turkey, as she had dealt with Hungary.

This was the essence of his message to the people of England, who came in greater multitudes to listen to him than to any other public orator in his century,²⁷ or to an Aldermaston march at its height in ours. Despite his moderation he made more enemies than friends among the leading parliamentarians: Russell, Disraeli and Gladstone condemned him outright as a 'Mazzinian'.²⁸

But the strongest attacks came from the Times, whose editor, John Thaddeus Delange, was in Vienna meeting Schwarzenberg,²⁹ while Kossuth visited England. In his absence Henry Reed, the assistant editor, directed the paper's campaign against the Hungarian leader, who, among other unsubstantiated charges, accused by them of impounding the property of Count Eugen (Ödön) Zichy, a Hungarian aristocrat,

executed by the Hungarians for high treason, during the War of Independence. The consistent attacks,³⁰ letters and reports of correspondents so perseveringly maligned Kossuth that Henningsen sprang to his defence with a pamphlet³¹ which accused *The Times* of being in the 'pay of the Austrian Secret Police. Whatever their origins, *The Times'* attacks on Kossuth's personal conduct were fabrications as his honesty and high-mindedness regarding pecuniary affairs were without reproach.

In sharp contrast with *The Times* the relatively new and radical satirical weekly *Punch* represented the *voice of the oppressed*.³² "When Kossuth visited London in 1851, *Punch's* heart, like that of the rest of England [i.e. liberal England (TK)] went out to the patriot". *It was not Louis Kossuth whom the thousands gazed upon and cheered, wrote Punch, it was Hungary bound and bleeding but still hopeful, resolute, defying Hungary.* "And it may be observed that for many years *Punch* sided, for one reason or another, with Austria's successive adversaries."³³

Punch's article *What shall be done unto the Sultan?* (12th October) is the first of its radical pro-Kossuth contributions. "Cities and towns, and boroughs, are assembling to do congratulatory honour to Kossuth. Well-and-good but what shall be done unto the Sultan, who, at his own peril, harboured and comforted the patriot, defying the beaks and talons of the double-beeded eagle? . . . Let every city . . . send to the Sultan some testimonial . . . curtains . . . razors . . . cannons . . . ships." In other words *Punch*, apart from honouring Abdul Medjid advocated pro-Turkish British foreign policy.

The central cartoon of the October 12th number represents Kossuth in a traveller's cap trying to turn a street corner. There are graffiti on the wall: LIBERTÉ, EGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ but a soldier barrs the patriot's way with his rifle-butt: "You can't pass here!". The soldier has the caricature-likeness of Louis Napoleon.

A week later (19 October) *Punch* publishes another central cartoon. The armoured figure of Britannia shows Kossuth the way: "*Welcome to Kossuth*". On his left a tame (British) lion, on his right Mr. *Punch* with his dog.

On 26 October *Punch* comes out with five lines, worth quoting in full: "*The crowns of Hungary and Austria.*" It has been asked, "Where is the crown of St. Stephen?" One is unable to say where; but of this *Punch* is certain. Wherever it may be, it is far better off than the crown of Austria; for this (at present) is on the head of a perjurer, named Francis-Joseph." The central cartoon of this number shows Kossuth, in his Hungarian hat, embraced by England and America—two ladies—on either side.

The November 2nd issue of *Punch* is dominated by Kossuth's name, fame and period. The article "The tyranny of customs" warns the Hungarian leader that because of customs and excises England is not (or not yet) a free country. This leaves little doubt that the Editors were on the side of free trade and Cobdenite internationalism. There are three poems dedicated to Kossuth: *Kossuth for the million (to the genteel)* which is a satirical song of six four-line stanzas. It upbraids the upper classes for calling

Kossuth a knave. (There had indeed been discordant noises from conservatives in the Parliament such as Lord Claude Hamilton). The second poem is the *Voice of the Exile* which has seventeen four-line verses and is written in a style of a hymn.

And like a war-spent soldier, faint and breathless,
Hungary, prostrate there,
Lay, seeming wounded to death; but deathless
was her defiant stare.

Indeed, Hungary is only one of the nations listed, her exiles just *some* amidst Poles, Italians, Germans-emigrés who had peopled London after 1848.

The third poem *Kossuth for ever!* tells in five six lined stanzas "why do millions cheer Kossuth". Having made a number of historical comparisons, in the last stanza the poet declares:

Therefore among men, Kossuth we class,
Who fairly, truly, fought for liberty;
We hail him as we should LEONIDAS
Our guest, arisen from Thermopylae;
And hope his eloquence of honest hate,
Europe may urge her tyrants to abate.

Articles, poems, cartoons were published in *Punch* unsigned. On the whole the cartoons were executed by Henry Mayhew, *Punch's* cartoonist at the time, while the articles were written by one of the editorial trio: Mayhew, Ebenezer Landells or Marc Lemon. Marc Lemon was *Punch's* editor in 1850 and—since he had a poetic vein—he might well have written the Kossuth poems.

As for the Hungarian leader, at the end of his tour in England he accepted the financial contributions offered to him as the fruits of a nation-wide collection, not for his personal use, even then, but for the cause. We do not know the sum it amounted to, but we do know that he gave £200 to the Association of the Hungarian Exiles, directly. He left Toulmin Smith in charge of the funds who advanced another £500 to the London emigrants, which Kossuth repaid him from America in December.³⁴ In January he sent another £450 through Toulmin Smith to Miklós Kiss, the *new* chairman of the exiles in London. He was taking the *former* chairman, Ferenc Pulszky, as his closest adviser to the United States.

Notes

1. Hansard, 3rd series. Vol. 118. pp. 1888–89.
2. Dénes Jánosy, *A Kossuth-emigráció Angliában és Amerikában* (Budapest, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1940–1948) Vol. I. pp. 90–1. Jánosy's evidence is based on the Ambassadorial reports of these conversations.
3. P.R.O. F.O. Austria. No. 182. 30 September 1851.
4. Pulszky to Kossuth, 6 October 1851. KH. OL. 8p. Published as: Document 66, by Jánosy, op. cit. Vol. I. pp. 663–5.
5. First Deák, later Kossuth then Garibaldi and finally Deák again.
6. No. 72. Wien, 19 February 1847. Ludwig Kossuth. . .
7. Sándor Veress, *A magyar emigratio a Keleten* (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1878) Vol. I. pp. 217–222.
8. 29 October. The Times, 7 October 1851, noted the origin of the motto, which Kossuth was to repeat many times and in various forms and contexts during his tour of England and America.
9. The Times, 7 October 1851.
10. Ferenc Pulszky, *Életem és korom* (Budapest: Franklin, 1884) Vol. II. p. 64. Dudley Stuart, M. P. for Marylebone, was a cousin to Palmerston and the most influential English politician supporting Kossuth.
11. For three weeks from 1 November to 22 November 1851, the *Illustrated London News* described Kossuth's every move, reported all his speeches and drew nearly two dozen pictures of his journey in England. 1 Nov. 1851, pp. 537–8, 544–6. Supplement, pp. 558–9; 8 Nov. pp. 565, 567–8; 570, 502–3; 22 Nov. pp. 609–11. In the Supplement to 15 Nov. issue, there appeared an *Authentic Life of L. Kossuth* (pp. 587–91) which was soon reprinted and issued in book form by Bradbury and Evans. Practically the same material was used by P. C. Headley, *The Life of Louis Kossuth* (Auburn, Derby & Miller, 1852). When adding the description of Kossuth's tour in America, he brought out the most detailed biography of Kossuth in English.
12. Cobden to Pulszky, Midhurst, 4 October. Letter VIII of Cobden in *South Eastern Affairs* (materials relative to the history of Central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula). Ed. by Jenő Horváth. Vols VIII.–IX. 1938–40. (Typescript copies kindly communicated by the late Dr. István Gál.) In his letters, Cobden was of the opinion that Kossuth should have gone to America first, then come to Britain. He also offered to take Kossuth around the Great Exhibition, before it closed. —*Ibid.* Letter VII. 22 September, and Letter X. (undated). Cobden was afraid of Kossuth's possible involvement with the Chartists. Their leader Ernest Jones had approached Kossuth but the Hungarian leader turned his invitation down.
13. Pulszky, op. cit. Vol. II. p. 65.
14. Appendix 4. Exchange of letters between Lord Dudley Stuart and Lord Palmerston. Harrowby MSS. Vol. 453. Unpublished sources, Section 13. 3 Xerox copies. of N.R.A. P.P. GC/ST/144–145.
15. These events were also described in: Thomas Kabdebo, *Diplomat in Exile* (New York: Columbia, 1979) pp. 67–75.
16. Arthur Christopher Benson—Reginald Baliol Esher, (ed.) *The letters of Queen Victoria*. Ser. 1. A selection from Her Majesty's correspondence between the years 1837–1861. Vol. II. 1844–1853. p. 234 (London: Murray, 1908).
17. Dénes Jánosy, *Great Britain and Kossuth* (Budapest, Sárkány 1937) pp. 134–8.
18. *Kossuth e Urquhart, estratto di una corrispondenza* (Londra, 1859).
19. Jánosy, *A Kossuth-emigráció*, Vol. I. pp. 503–4.
20. "On 27 October 1851 Marx wrote to Engels: 'Mr. Kossuth is, like the Apostle Paul, all things to all men. In Marseilles he shouts: 'Vive la republique!', and in Southampton 'God save the Queen!'." Zoltán Vas, "Kossuth in England" *New Hungarian Quarterly*, Vol. IX. p. 140. In fact the letter was written by Engels to Marx. Marx–Engels Werke, Berlin, 1962). Vol. 28, p. 368.

21. Rezső Peéry, "Carl Schurz, Londoni fogadáson Kossuth Lajosnál" *Irodalmi Újság*, 15 November 1964.
22. Zoltán Horváth, *Teleki László* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964) Vol. II. pp. 52–7, 78–9, 81.
23. Pulszky, for instance, wrote in the *Eclectic Review* (January 1850, p. 59): "Centralisation is the political bane of our age. Its . . . results have long been visible in paternal systems and despotism of Europe." This was the very clue to many of Kossuth's speeches in England.
24. *Authentic life of his excellency Louis Kossuth* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1851) p. 51. The Birmingham speech referred to the city's origins from the time of Julius Caesar.
25. P. C. Headley, *The life of Louis Kossuth* (Auburn: Derby & Miller, 1852) p. 379.
26. The Constitutional parallels between England and Hungary were enhanced by historic parallels, such as: "As the Czar has brought back the Hapsburgs to us, Monk once brought the Stuarts back to you . . . we are now, where you were after 1665." Ibid. p. 487; Prof. Newman wrote: "at Southampton, Toulmin Smith boarded his ship . . . handed to him a precise manuscript that gave details concerning the local history and affairs of Southampton. Not many hours later, the great Hungarian . . . seemed to have a truly marvellous acquaintance with our English municipalities." Francis Newman, *Reminiscences of two exiles*. (London, 1888) p. 5.
27. According to contemporary reporting there were 200,000 people at Copenhagen Fields.
28. J. Morley, *The life of William Ewart Gladstone* (London: 1903) Vol. I. p. 402.
29. A. I. Dasent—John Thaddeus Delane, *Editor of the Times* . . . (London: 1908) Vol. I. p. 144.
30. 9 October, 16 October, 17 October 1851.
31. C. F. Henningsen, *Kossuth and the Times* (London: 1851). The author did not print his name.
32. R. G. C. Price: *A History of Punch* (London: 1957) p. 19.
33. M. H. Spielmann, *A History of Punch* (London: 1895) pp. 117–118.
34. Kossuth's letter to Miklós Kiss. Cincinnati, 15 February 1852. Jánossy, *A Kossuth emigráció*. Vol. II. p. 554.

STAND UND AUFGABEN EINER INTERDISZIPLINÄREN LANDESKUNDE UNGARNS IM RAHMEN DER FINNO-UGRISTIK*

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0. Vorbemerkungen

Gestatten Sie mir, daß ich an den Beginn meiner Ausführungen einige wenige Worte zu den Begriffen „Landeskunde“ und „Hungarologie“ stelle, damit von vornherein klar ist, was ich im folgenden unter diesen verstehen werde.

Ich möchte hier nicht die gesamte „Landeskunde“-Diskussion wiederholen, die Diskussion um ihre Inhalte, um ihr Verhältnis zu einzelnen Disziplinen, um ihre Aufgaben im Fremdsprachenunterricht, um die Frage, wer sie unterrichtet. In Übereinstimmung mit unserem Kollegen Hartmut Delmas, der über diese Problematik im Kolloquium der *Ungarischen Wirtschafts- und Kulturtage in Hamburg 1982* referiert hat, verstehe ich unter Landeskunde „ein wissenschaftlich begründetes Herangehen an sorgfältig auszuwählende Informationen verschiedener relevanter Disziplinen, aus deren systematisierter Zuordnung sich ein beziehungsreiches, zusammenhängendes System der Beschreibung der Wirklichkeit eines Landes von jetzt und heute ablesen läßt. Ein solches System muß dem dergestalt Informierten erlauben, diese Wirklichkeit einigermaßen adäquat zu erfassen, in seinen mit Sicherheit vorher anders determinierten Verstehenshorizont einzuordnen und durch gleichzeitig vermittelte Fertigkeiten und Fähigkeiten für einen weiteren realitätsangemessenen Informationserwerb im Bereich der Zielsprache Kommunikationsfähigkeit und Selbstbehauptungstechniken zu entwickeln“ (Delmas 1983, S. 111). Oder eine etwas einfachere Definition: „Landeskunde im Fremdsprachenunterricht ist die Wissenschaft von der Erforschung und Vermittlung von Verhaltensweisen einer Sprachgemeinschaft und den Bedingungen der Lebensgrundlage dieser Gemeinschaft, die dem Kommunikationsprozeß zugrundeliegenden, ihn ermöglichen und fördern“ (Erdmenger—Istel 1978, S. 23).

Aus den Definitionen geht hervor, daß in der Landeskunde Informationen verschiedener relevanter Disziplinen vermittelt werden. Sie muß also notwendigerwei-

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se interdisziplinär ausgerichtet sein, was sich auch auf die Vermittler selbst erstrecken kann. Als relevante Disziplinen möchte ich hier die Geographie, Geschichte, Politologie, Soziologie, Wirtschaftswissenschaften, Kulturgeschichte, Ethnographie nennen.

Der zweite Begriff, den ich häufiger verwenden werde, ist der der „Hungarologie“. Seine Definition ist ebenfalls umstritten. Die Definitionen reichen von der Gleichsetzung der Hungarologie mit der Ungarischen Philologie im Sinne einer Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, über eine Erweiterung dieses Inhaltes um die Volkskunde—so wird heute der Begriff von der *Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság* (Internationale Gesellschaft für Ungarische Philologie) verwendet, in ihrem offiziellen Organ *Hungarológiai Értesítő* praktiziert und offensichtlich in Ungarn von den Hungarologen auch akzeptiert — bis hin zu einem Inhalt, der die Gesamtheit aller Ungarn betreffenden geisteswissenschaftlichen Disziplinen umfaßt; von Wissenschaftern in dem USA und die Westeuropa erfährt der Begriff Hungarologie eine nochmalige Erweiterung durch die Einbeziehung von sozialwissenschaftlichen Disziplinen und die Stellung als interdisziplinäre Regionalwissenschaft. In dieser Fassung umschließt der Begriff Hungarologie sowohl die Ungarische Philologie als auch die Landeskunde Ungarns. Ich persönlich verwende den Begriff Hungarologie in diesem Sinne.

1. Allgemeiner Überblick über die Stellung der Landeskunde Ungarns im nicht-deutschsprachigen Ausland

Nach diesen notwendigen Ausführungen zur Abklärung der verschiedenen Begriffe möchte ich nun auf den ersten Teil meines eigentlichen Themas zu sprechen kommen: Stand einer interdisziplinären Landeskunde Ungarns im Rahmen der Finno-Ugristik.

¹Zunächst kurz zum nicht-deutschsprachigen Ausland.

Hinsichtlich des Inhaltes und Umfanges der Landeskunde Ungarns bzw. der Hungarologie und ihrer Einbettung in den Studiengang Finno-Ugristik oder den Studiengang Ungarische Philologie kann folgende Differenzierung vorgenommen werden, wobei zunächst überrascht, in welcher großen Zahl finnougri- und hungarologische Lehr- und Forschungsstätten existieren. Allein in Europa gibt es, ohne Ungarn und Finnland, ca. 30 solcher Lehr- und Forschungsstätten.

1.1 In den Ländern mit ungarischen Minderheiten

In allen Nachbarländern Ungarns, in denen Ungarn in beträchtlicher Zahl leben, gibt es Lehrstühle für Ungarische Philologie: in der ČSSR an den Universitäten von Praha (Rákos 1983, S. 9) und Bratislava (Csanda 1983), in der Sowjetunion an der

Staatsuniversität von Užgorod (Majtyinszkaja 1983, S. 30; Lizanec 1983), in Rumänien an den Universitäten von Cluj und București (Szabó 1973, S. 244; Máté 1983, S. 55) sowie in Jugoslawien das Institut für Ungarische Sprache, Literatur und Hungarologische Forschungen an der Universität von Novi Sad (Szeli 1983, S. 62). Allen Lehrstühlen gemeinsam als Hauptaufgabe ist die Ausbildung von Lehrern für die Schulen der ungarischen Nationalität. Daneben werden Dolmetscher und Übersetzer, Sprachlehrer, Literaturwissenschaftler, Mitarbeiter für Verlage, Zeitungen und andere Medien sowie für andere kulturelle Institutionen und natürlich auch Nachwuchswissenschaftler ausgebildet. Weiter allen gemeinsam ist die Tatsache, daß die Studenten nahezu ausschließlich ungarischer Muttersprache sind, was natürlich erhebliche Auswirkungen auf die Möglichkeiten des Eindringens in die linguistischen Probleme der ungarischen Sprache und in die Literaturwissenschaft, somit also auf die Gestaltung der Lehre und auch auf die Ausprägung der Forschungsschwerpunkte hat.

Als exemplarisches Beispiel kann hier vielleicht der an der Universität von Užgorod praktizierte Studienplan gelten (Lizanec 1983, S. 38). Von der **Gesamtstundenzahl** — 2290 Stunden in 5 Jahren, pro Semester 229 Stunden = 16,36 Semesterwochenstunden (= im folgenden SWS) — entfallen auf:

1. Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Finno-Ugristik	9%
2. Linguistik des Ungarischen	36%
3. Allgemeine Literaturwissenschaft	9%
4. Literaturgeschichte Ungarns	24%
5. Spezialveranstaltungen	22%

Landeskundliche Lehrveranstaltungen sind im Studienplan nicht vorgeschrieben, in einem geringen Umfang werden solche Themen unter den fakultativen Spezialveranstaltungen angeboten. Diese hier beschriebene Situation ist auch für die Studiengänge in der ČSSR und in Rumänien gültig, wobei lediglich in Cluj als ein landeskundliches Element volkswissenschaftliche Lehrveranstaltungen im Studienplan enthalten sind (Máté 1983, S. 56).

Die Beschränkung auf Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft gilt im vollen Umfang auch für die Forschungsschwerpunkte der genannten Institute. Beispielhaft seien hier nur die Universitäten von Bratislava (Csanda 1983, S. 16–17) und Cluj (Szabó 1973, S. 244) aufgeführt.

Lediglich das Institut für Ungarische Sprache, Literatur und Hungarologische Forschungen in Novi Sad bildet eine Ausnahme von dem bisher Gesagten. Das Institut hat in seinen Lehr- und Forschungsschwerpunkten ausdrücklich landeskundliche Aspekte im weitesten Sinne auf seine Fahnen geschrieben. Es beschäftigt sich u. a. mit den ungarisch-südslawischen kulturellen Beziehungen, mit kulturgeschichtlichen Problemen sowie mit der Folklore (Szeli 1983, S. 63–65).

Zusammenfassend gilt also für die Nachbarländer Ungarns mit ungarischen Minderheiten: Landeskunde spielt in Forschung und Lehre der Lehrstühle für Ungarische Philologie keine Rolle, eine Ausnahme bildet lediglich das Institut in Novi Sad.

1.2 Im europäischen Ausland

Wie sieht nun die Situation in den anderen europäischen Ländern ohne ungarische Minderheiten aus? Es lassen sich mehrere Gruppen bilden:

1. Als eigenständiges Hauptfach ist Ungarische Philologie an den Universitäten von Århus (Zaicz 1983, S. 145; Zaicz 1980, S. 238), Warszawa (Sieroszewski 1983, S. 109), an der Lomonosov-Universität in Moskva (Majtyinszkaja 1983, S. 30) und an 9 Universitäten in Italien (Torino, 2-mal Milano, Pavia, Padova, Venezia, Udine, Roma, Napoli) (Ghenó 1983, S. 128) etabliert. Häufig ist der Lehrstuhl für Ungarische Philologie mit anderen sprachwissenschaftlichen Instituten, insbesondere für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, institutionell verbunden.
2. Im Rahmen des Studiengangs Finno-Ugristik ist Ungarisch an den Universitäten von Uppsala (Wickman 1979, S. 109), Leningrad (Majtyinszkaja 1983, S. 31; Jakócs 1983, S. 49), Groningen (Futaky 1977, S. 117), Bologna und Firenze (Ghenó 1983, S. 128) sowie in Paris und London vertreten.
3. In die dritte Kategorie schließlich fällt die Ungarische Philologie als Nebenfach in anderen primär sprachwissenschaftlichen Studiengängen. Dies ist u. a. in Amsterdam und Utrecht (Beóthy 1980, S. 111–112; Sivirsky 1968, S. 120) sowie in København (Zaicz 1980, S. 236; Zaicz 1983, S. 145) der Fall.

Ich bin mir nicht sicher, ob diese Liste bereits vollständig ist, aber sie besitzt auch schon so einen beträchtlichen Umfang. Gemeinsam ist allen hier genannten Universitäten der Umstand, daß Ungarisch entweder einen Bestandteil eines umfassenderen, regelhaft sprachwissenschaftlichen Studiums bildet oder aber mit einem derartigen verbunden wird. Ungarisch folgt überall als Ungarische Philologie dem klassischen sprach- und literaturwissenschaftlichen Modell.

Dieses übt unmittelbaren Einfluß auf die Gestaltung der Studienpläne und des Lehrveranstaltungsangebotes aus, soweit man dieses aus der Literatur verfolgen kann: überall dominieren die linguistischen und literaturwissenschaftlichen Elemente, landeskundliche Elemente spielen eine völlig untergeordnete Rolle — auch dort, wo Ungarisch Hauptfach ist! — und reduzieren sich im wesentlichen auf einen kurzen Streifzug durch die ungarische Geschichte. Vereinzelt gibt es zwar Äußerungen, daß Landeskunde verstärkt werden sollte, die Umsetzung scheitert aber am Fehlen

geeigneten Unterrichtsmaterials (Jakócs 1983, S. 50 für Leningrad; Szij 1983, S. 43 für Moskva). Meiner Kenntnis nach gibt es nur eine Universität, in der die Landeskunde Ungarns einen größeren Umfang einnimmt: Århus. Dies ist aber einzig und allein der Tätigkeit der dortigen Lektorin zu verdanken (Zaicz 1980, S. 238–239; Zaicz 1983, S. 147).

1.3 In Nordamerika

Wiederum anders ist die Situation in den USA und in Kanada. Hier ist an den Universitäten der Ungarisch-Unterricht bzw. die Hungarologie im Sinne einer Regionalwissenschaft (regional studies) konzipiert und im allgemeinen eng mit den Osteuropa-Studien verknüpft (Sinor 1983, S. 154–155). Die Hungarologie ist an folgenden Universitäten vertreten: University of California in Berkeley und Los Angeles, Columbia University, University of Pittsburgh, Duquesne University of Pittsburgh, McGill University in Montreal, University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Carleton University in Ottawa (Sinor 1983, S. 154; Wojatsek 1983, S. 191; Várdy 1983). Zentren der Hungarologie bilden die Indiana University in Bloomington mit der Einbettung in das Department of Ural-Altaic Studies und die University of Toronto. An diesen beiden Universitäten sind je ein Lehrstuhl für Ungarn-Studien aus Stiftungsmitteln eingerichtet worden, die die Regierungen, die Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften und die in Nordamerika lebenden Ungarn zur Verfügung gestellt haben.

Aus der Konzeption der Hungarologie als Regionalwissenschaft folgt, daß der Sprachunterricht zwar ein unbedingt erforderliches Gerüst darstellt, der Schwerpunkt der Studien jedoch im Bereich der Landeskunde im weitesten Sinne unter Einbeziehung u. a. auch der Geschichte, Politischen Wissenschaft, Wirtschaftswissenschaft und Soziologie liegt.

Dies drückt sich auch im hungarologischen Bestand der nordamerikanischen Bibliotheken aus, der sich nach einer im Jahre 1979 durchgeführten Erhebung in ca. 30 Bibliotheken wie folgt auf die einzelnen Fachgebiete verteilt (Kovács 1983, S. 163):

Geschichte	40%
Literatur, Sprachwissenschaft	30%
Politik, Wirtschaft, Recht	15%
Geographie, Volkskunde, Kunst	10%
Bibliographien, Handbücher	5%

Weitere Unterschiede zu den Verhältnissen in Europa ergeben sich dadurch, daß der überwiegende Teil der Studenten der 2. und 3. Emigrantengeneration angehört (Várdy

Huszár 1983, S. 178), also mit einer anders gelagerten Motivation an die Hungarologie herangeht, und ferner dadurch, daß nahezu der gesamte Lehrkörper ungarischer Abstammung ist (Várdy 1983, S. 172).

1.4 Ferienkurse

An dieser Stelle sei vielleicht ein kleiner Exkurs zu Ferien-Sprachkursen gestattet, die im Sommer für Kinder und Jugendliche ungarischer Abstammung am Balaton und in Sáropatak (Dörnyei 1983, S. 51) und in den USA für die gleiche Zielgruppe in einem gemeinsamen Kurs der Portland State University und der Ohio Northern University (Várdy 1983, S. 170) durchgeführt werden. Am bekanntesten ist die Sommeruniversität in Debrecen, die für alle offen steht, die Ungarisch lernen wollen. Gemeinsame Zielsetzung dieser Ferienkurse ist neben der Vermittlung und Vertiefung von Sprachkenntnissen der Erwerb von Kenntnissen der ungarischen Geschichte, Kultur und Gegenwart. Das Spektrum der landeskundlichen Veranstaltungen reicht von der Geographie über die Geschichte, Politik, Literatur, Volkskunst bis hin zur Kunst und Musik.

Der zeitliche Anteil der landeskundlichen Veranstaltungen beträgt bis zu 25% wie in Sáropatak (Dörnyei 1983, S. 52), was den hohen Stellenwert, den man diesem Bereich offensichtlich zumißt, ausdrückt.

1.5 Begriffsschwierigkeiten

Schon die bis jetzt aufgeführten Beispiele zeigen ganz deutlich die bereits in den Vorbemerkungen erwähnten Schwierigkeiten mit dem Begriff Hungarologie. Entsprechend den verschiedenartigen Voraussetzungen:

- Vorhandensein einer ungarischsprachigen Bevölkerung oder nicht;
- unterschiedliche Studienziele wie Ausbildung von Ungarisch-Lehrern, Ausbildung von Dolmetschern, Ausbildung von Finno-Ugristen und anderen Sprachwissenschaftlern;
- unterschiedliche Herkunft der das Fach vertretenden Wissenschaftler: Ungarn oder nicht-ungarischer Abstammung, Philologe oder Gesellschaftswissenschaftler,

reicht die Spannweite des Inhalts des Begriffs Hungarologie von einer Gleichsetzung mit einer reinen sprach- und literaturwissenschaftlichen Ungarischen Philologie über eine durch gewisse geisteswissenschaftliche Elemente erweiterte Philologie bis hin zu einer sozialwissenschaftlich orientierten, interdisziplinären regional study.

Diese Spannweite wird auch deutlich hervortreten, wenn ich im folgenden detaillierter auf die Situation der Landeskunde Ungarns in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland eingehe, erweitert durch kurze Blicke über die Grenzen hinweg auch auf die Situation in Wien und Ost-Berlin.

2. Überblick über die Stellung der Landeskunde Ungarns im deutschsprachigen Raum

Die Beschäftigung mit Ungarn besitzt im deutschsprachigen Raum eine reiche Tradition, auf die ich hier im einzelnen schon aus Zeitgründen nicht eingehen möchte. Hingewiesen sei nur auf das berühmte Ungarische Institut in Berlin, das den ungarischen Finno-Ugristen und Hungarologen durch die Tätigkeit von Dezső Keresztury, durch verschiedene Beiträge auf dem Internationalen Hungarologen-Kongreß 1981 (Keresztury 1983; Nehring 1983, S. 87–88; Kornya 1983, S. 97) und durch den Vortrag des Münchner Kollegen Karl Nehring auf den letzten Kulturtagen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland hier in Budapest im Jahre 1980 (Nehring 1980, S. 63–64) hinreichend bekannt sein dürfte (Weitere wichtige Darstellungen: Szent-Iványi 1959/60 und Kiss 1980). Das Ungarische Institut ging 1917 aus dem 1916 an der Berliner Universität gegründeten Lehrstuhl für Ungarische Sprache und Literatur hervor und wurde 1922 durch eine finnische und ural-altaische Abteilung erweitert. Entsprechend einer Denkschrift des geistigen und politischen Förderers des Ungarischen Instituts, des Orientalisten, Staatssekretärs und späteren preußischen Kultusministers Prof. Dr. Carl Heinrich Becker, aus dem Jahre 1917 „Über Förderung der Auslandsstudien“, wonach alle Universitätsinstitute, die sich mit fremden Sprachen befassen, ihren engen sprachlichen und philologischen Interessenkreis verlassen und die gesamte Kultur des Auslands vertreten sollten (Szent-Iványi 1959/60, S. 54), erweiterte Robert Gragger, Lehrstuhlinhaber und Direktor des Instituts, sofort die Aufgaben des Ungarischen Instituts. Dies schlug sich in der Lehre und in der gesamten wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit des Instituts nieder, die außer Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft auch Themen aus den Bereichen Kulturgeschichte, Geschichte, Geographie, Ethnographie, Rechtswissenschaft und Soziologie, also Landeskunde und Hungarologie im weitesten Sinne, umfaßte (Keresztury 1983, S. 83) und auch deutliche Spuren in der fachlichen Zusammensetzung der Bestände der berühmten Bibliothek hinterließ.

Heute wird Ungarische Philologie im Rahmen der Finno-Ugristik in der Bundesrepublik an den Universitäten von Göttingen, Hamburg und München, in Österreich an der Wiener Universität betrieben. An der Ost-Berliner Humboldt Universität wird nach der 1968 erfolgten Auflösung des aus dem Ungarischen Institut hervorgegangenen Finnisch-Ugrischen Instituts Ungarisch als Dolmetscher- und Übersetzerausbildung im Fachgebiet Hungarologie an der Sektion Slawistik angebo-

ten (Kiss 1980, S. 102). Dolmetscherausbildung gibt es auch in Österreich an den Dolmetscher-Instituten der Wiener und Grazer Universität (Frank 1983, S. 74).

Daneben werden an zahlreichen Universitäten der Bundesrepublik (Bochum, Bonn, Freiburg, Gießen, Kiel, Köln, Marburg, Münster) regelmäßig ungarische Sprachkurse durchgeführt, die sich in erster Linie an Studenten der Sprachwissenschaften wenden.

Im folgenden möchte ich mich nun mit meiner eigentlichen Fragestellung — Stand der Landeskunde Ungarns — am Beispiel der Situation an den Universitäten Göttingen, Hamburg, München, Wien und Ost-Berlin beschäftigen, indem ich versuche, — soweit vorhanden — Studienpläne, Lehrveranstaltungspläne, die Zusammensetzung des Lehrkörpers sowie die gebräuchlichen Lehrbücher zu analysieren.

2.1 Landeskunde in den Studienplänen

Auf der Grundlage der Studienpläne sind die Studiengänge mit Ausnahme in Ost-Berlin bei geringen Abweichungen im Prinzip gleichartig strukturiert: sie ermöglichen innerhalb der Finno-Ugristik eine Schwerpunktbildung. Solche können sein: Vergleichende Finno-Ugristik, Finnische Sprache und Literatur, Ungarische Sprache und Literatur und die kleineren finno-ugrischen Sprachen. Landeskundliche Kenntnisse werden nur als Grundkenntnisse gefordert, im Sinne einer Einführung in die Geschichte Finnlands bzw. Ungarns, wie z. B. in Göttingen (Schmeidler 1977, S. 86) und zusätzlich in die Ethnologie (*Entwurf der Studienordnung für das Fach Finno-Ugristik an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München* 1982).

Auch der Studienplan des Wiener Instituts für Finno-Ugristik (*Studienplan für die Studienrichtung Finno-Ugristik an der Geisteswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien*, in: *Mitteilungsblatt der Universität Wien*, ausgegeben am 25. Juli 1983) mit dem ausdrücklichen Schwerpunkt Ungarische Sprache und Literatur und einem dementsprechenden hohen quantitativen Stundenanteil für Ungarisch sieht lediglich eine Vorlesung zur „Geschichte, Kultur und Gesellschaft der finno-ugrischen Völker“ von jeweils 2 SWS im I. und II. Studienabschnitt vor und ermöglicht darüber hinaus einige fakultative landeskundliche Veranstaltungen (Rédei 1983, S. 80), die aber auf Grund fehlender Lehrkapazität nicht angeboten werden können (Frank 1983, S. 75). Im Studienzweig Ungarisch für das Lehramt an höheren Schulen schreibt der Wiener Studienplan insgesamt 4 SWS Lehrveranstaltungen zur „Landes- und Kulturkunde Ungarns“ vor.

Bezüglich des Studienplans nimmt Hamburg (*Studienplan für das Fach Finnisch-Ugrische Philologie*, Hamburg 1975) eine gewisse Sonderstellung ein: Innerhalb jeder der oben aufgeführten Studienrichtungen bzw. Schwerpunkte werden weitere 4 Spezialgebiete ermöglicht, nämlich Einzelphilologie, vergleichende finno-ugrische

Sprachwissenschaft, Literaturwissenschaft und Kultur- und Landeskunde. In der Abschlußprüfung werden nach Wahl des Studenten intensive Kenntnisse in zwei und Grundkenntnisse in den beiden anderen Spezialgebieten verlangt. Konkret bedeutet dies, daß ein Student, der Ungarisch als Hauptstudienrichtung und u. a. das Spezialgebiet Kultur- und Landeskunde wählt, für dieses Spezialgebiet ca. 8–10 SWS Unterrichtsveranstaltungen nachweisen muß. Wählt er nicht dieses Spezialgebiet, muß er dennoch mindestens eine 2-stündige Einführungsveranstaltung nachweisen.

Man möchte meinen, daß der Studienplan der Berliner Humboldt Universität mit seiner Ungarisch-Dolmetscher und Übersetzer Ausbildung, die einen großen Praxis- und Gegenwartsbezug beinhalten sollte, einen hohen landeskundlichen Anteil umfaßt. Dem ist nicht so, es werden ebenso wie in Hamburg mit seiner primären Philologenausbildung insgesamt lediglich 10 SWS gefordert, nämlich 6 SWS Geschichte Ungarns und 4 SWS Landeskunde (Kiss 1980, S. 103; Kornya 1983, S. 98). Hinzu kommt allerdings praktische Landeskunde, nämlich ein ganzes Studienjahr Aufenthalt in Ungarn.

2.2 Landeskunde in den Lehrveranstaltungsplänen

Es ist zu vermuten, daß sich die eben skizzierte Stellung der Landeskunde in den Studienplänen auch in den real angebotenen Lehrveranstaltungen ausdrückt. Zur Überprüfung dieser Vermutung habe ich die Lehrveranstaltungspläne der Institute in Hamburg, Göttingen, München und Wien für den Zeitraum Sommersemester (= SS) 1977 bis Wintersemester (= WS) 1983/84, also 7 Jahre, analysiert, und zwar hinsichtlich des quantitativen Anteils landeskundlicher Veranstaltungen am gesamten Lehrangebot des jeweiligen Institut sowie hinsichtlich der thematischen Aufgliederung der landeskundlichen Lehrveranstaltungen, und in den beiden folgenden Tabellen dargestellt.

Tabelle 1. Anteil der Lehrveranstaltungen zur Landeskunde Ungarns (LK) am gesamten Lehrveranstaltungsangebot (ohne Sprachlehrveranstaltungen) (in SW und WS)

Semester	Hamburg			Göttingen			München			Wien		
	ges.	LK	%	ges.	LK	%	ges.	LK	%	ges.	LK	%
SS 77	24	3	12,5	18	1	5,6	23	4	17,4	21	–	–
WS 77/78	27	5	18,5	19	–	–	27	2	7,4	25	–	–
SS 78	27	4	14,8	29	2	6,9	31	2	6,5	keine Angaben		
WS 78/79	26	7	26,9	25	2	8,0	25	4	16,0	23	–	–
SS 79	24	7	29,2	29	2	6,9	29	2	6,9	16	–	–
WS 79/80	25	5	20,0	24	2	8,3	27	2	7,4	26	–	–
SS 80	24	5	20,8	22	–	–	29	2	6,9	19	–	–

Tabelle 1. (Fortsetzung)

Semester	Hamburg			Göttingen			München			Wien		
	ges.	LK	%	ges.	LK	%	ges.	LK	%	ges.	LK	%
WS 80/81	23	4	17,4	27	—	—	33	2	6,1	20	2	10,0
SS 81	19	—	—	25	—	—	32	2	6,3	21	2	9,5
WS 81/82	15	2	13,3	23	—	—	31	2	6,5	27	2	7,4
SS 82	20	2	10,0	25	—	—	28	2	7,1	22	2	9,1
WS 82/83	23	2	8,7	24	1	4,2	31	2	6,5	26	2	7,7
SS 83	27	7	25,9	20	3	15,0	27	2	7,4	24	2	8,3
WS 83/84	24	2	8,3	19	1	5,3	31	2	6,5	29	2	6,9
Summe	328	55		329	14		404	32		299	14	
pro			16,8			4,3			7,9			4,7
Semester	23,4	3,9		23,5	1		28,9	2,3		23,0	1,1	

Quelle: Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen 1 (1977) — 7 (1983)

Tabelle 2. Thematische Aufgliederung der Lehrveranstaltungen zur Landeskunde Ungarns in SWS

Thema	Hamburg	Göttingen	München	Wien	Summe	%
Geschichte	10	—	28	14	52	45,2
Kulturgeschichte	15	4	—	—	19	16,5
Zeitgeschichte	6	1	—	—	7	6,1
Landeskunde des heutigen Ungarns	14	6	—	—	20	17,4
Volkskunde	10	3	4	—	17	14,8
Summe:	55	14	32	14	115	100,0
%	47,8	12,2	27,8	12,2	100,0	—

Quelle: Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen 1 (1977) — 7 (1983)

Als wichtigste Ergebnisse verdienen hier festgehalten zu werden:

- Die Finnisch-Ugrischen Institute haben pro Semester ein annähernd gleiches Gesamtangebot an Lehrveranstaltungen (ohne Sprachlehrveranstaltungen) von rund 23 SWS, lediglich das Münchner Institut kann ein größeres Lehrangebot, nämlich 29 SWS, zur Verfügung stellen.
- Der Anteil der landeskundlichen Lehrveranstaltungen (115 SWS) am gesamten Lehrangebot der 4 Institute (1360 SWS) beträgt 8,5%.

- Den größten Anteil der landeskundlichen Lehrveranstaltungen sowohl an seinem Gesamtangebot (16,8%) als auch an der Gesamtmenge der landeskundlichen Lehrveranstaltungen (47,8%) weist Hamburg auf.
- Hamburg wird gefolgt von München mit 7,9% bzw. 27,8%.
- In Göttingen und Wien besitzen die landeskundlichen Lehrveranstaltungen einen Anteil am jeweiligen Gesamtangebot von 4,3% bzw. 4,7% und an der Gesamtmenge der landeskundlichen Lehrveranstaltungen von jeweils nur 12,2%.
- Im thematischen Angebot ist der hohe Anteil an historischen und kulturgeschichtlichen Themen mit zusammen 61,7% und der geringe Anteil von 23,5% derjenigen Themen, die sich mit dem modernen Ungarn beschäftigen, auffällig.
- Die größte Diversifizierung der Themen weist Hamburg, gefolgt von Göttingen, auf, während in München und Wien fast ausschließlich nur historische Themen angeboten werden, wobei München eine wesentlich größere Abwechslung innerhalb der historischen Themen bietet als Wien.
- Bisher sind lediglich von Hamburg aus landeskundliche Exkursionen nach Ungarn durchgeführt worden (im Sommersemester 1979 und im Sommersemester 1983), die jeweils 16 Tage dauerten und an denen 24 bzw. 28 Studenten teilgenommen haben. Infolge der interdisziplinären Zusammensetzung der Lehrkräfte und dank der Hilfe der ungarischen Kollegen konnte den Studenten ein äußerst intensives Bild von der gegenwärtigen ungarischen Realität vermittelt werden.
- Die größte Kontinuität im Angebot zeigen Hamburg und München, während ein landeskundlicher Unterricht in Göttingen und Wien über mehrere Semester hinweg nicht stattgefunden hat.

Die hier dargestellten Ergebnisse müssen allerdings insofern relativiert werden, als in allen hier untersuchten Universitäten zahlreiche fachwissenschaftliche Lehrveranstaltungen außerhalb der Finnisch-Ugrischen Institute, in der Regel im Rahmen der Geschichte und der Wirtschaftswissenschaften, angeboten werden, die sich mit Südosteuropa im allgemeinen und Ungarn im speziellen beschäftigen. Es liegen keine Erkenntnisse vor, inwieweit Finno-Ugristik- bzw. Ungarisch-Studenten diese nachfragen. Es kann aber vermutet werden, daß die Nachfrage nicht sehr umfangreich ist, da derartige Themen, wie bereits oben ausgeführt, in den Studienplänen nicht vorgesehen sind.

2.3 Probleme des Lehrkörpers

Die eben dargestellten Ergebnisse geben schon einen Hinweis auf eine der wichtigsten Ursachen für die unterrepräsentierte Landeskunde Ungarns: An keinem der hier untersuchten vier Finnisch-Ugrischen Institute wird die Landeskunde durch ein hauptamtliches Mitglied des Lehrkörpers vertreten. Diese sind ausnahmslos Linguisten oder Literaturwissenschaftler, zeitweise unterrichten die jeweiligen Lektoren (z. B. in Göttingen) — von ihrer Ausbildung her ebenfalls Linguisten oder Literaturwissenschaftler —, die aber auf Grund ihrer zeitlich befristeten Verträge kein kontinuierliches Lehrangebot auf diesem Gebiet sicherstellen können. Die Landeskunde Ungarns ruht also auf den Schultern von Lehrbeauftragten, deren zeitliches Engagement sowohl durch die finanziellen Möglichkeiten der Institute, Lehraufträge zu erteilen, als auch durch die hauptberuflichen Verpflichtungen eng begrenzt wird.

2.4 Landeskunde in Lehrbüchern

In seinem Vortrag auf den Ungarischen Wirtschafts- und Kulturtagen in Hamburg 1982 hat Tiborc Fazekas die unterschiedlichen Vor- und Nachteile der deutschsprachigen Lehrbücher beschrieben (Fazekas 1983, S. 57–59) und ist zu dem Ergebnis gelangt, daß die Lehrbücher „unglücklicherweise ... sozusagen mit komplementären Vor- und Nachteilen“ ausgestattet sind und deshalb „ein zielstrebiges Lehrplan also einen bunten Salat der obigen Bücher anbieten (müßte)“ (Fazekas 1983, S. 59). Was die landeskundlichen Inhalte dieser Lehrbücher betrifft, so bewegen sie sich auf einem einheitlich unbefriedigendem Niveau. Lediglich Iván Érsek (*Langenscheidts Praktisches Lehrbuch Ungarisch*, Berlin, München, Wien, Zürich 1977) und Sándor Mikesy (*Ungarisches Lehrbuch*, Leipzig 1978) bemühen sich, in einem stärkeren Umfang Texte, die einen engeren Bezug zur gegenwärtigen ungarischen Realität besitzen, in ihren Lehrbüchern aufzunehmen. Die größeren Fortschritte erzielt dabei ohne Zweifel Mikesy, allerdings sind seine Texte inhaltlich ganz stark auf Benutzer in der DDR abgestimmt, während Érseks Buch eher den westdeutschen Benutzer anspricht. Etwas überspitzt ausgedrückt: Es gibt ein Lehrbuch mit „sozialistischer“ und eins mit „kapitalistischer“ Landeskunde. Dieses Problem der politischen Auswahl landeskundlicher Texte hält sicherlich manche Lehrbuchautoren davon ab, solche in ihren Lehrbüchern aufzunehmen.

2.5 Zusammenfassung der Analyse

Faßt man das bisher Gesagte über den Stand der Landeskunde Ungarns im Rahmen der Finno-Ugristik im deutschsprachigen Raum zusammen, so ist das Ergebnis wenig ermutigend. Die Landeskunde Ungarns ist in Studien- und Lehrveranstaltungsplänen nirgends — außer in kräftigen Ansätzen in Hamburg und bereits viel weniger kräftig in München — fest etabliert. Ihre Existenz ist überall eng mit derjenigen der Lehrbeauftragten verknüpft, die zwar — wie in Hamburg und München — auf Grund ihrer langjährigen Tätigkeit für eine Kontinuität und gewissen Vielfalt sorgen, aber es kann auch in jedem Semester Schluß sein! Insbesondere erschwert, wenn nicht gar verhindert diese Situation die Ausarbeitung eines systematischen Curriculums, das auch in den Lehrbüchern Eingang finden könnte.

3. Aufgaben und Entwicklungsperspektiven für eine interdisziplinäre Landeskunde Ungarns

Welche Aufgaben, welche Entwicklungsperspektiven folgern hieraus für die Landeskunde Ungarns? Wer hat diese Aufgaben zu übernehmen? Welche Randbedingungen sind bei der Lösung dieser Aufgaben zu beachten? Eine Antwort auf diese Fragen zu geben, soll im folgenden versucht werden.

3.1 Wichtigste Randbedingung: Die Studenten

Die Randbedingungen, die bei der Lösung der Aufgaben generell für eine Landeskunde und damit auch für eine Landeskunde Ungarns zu beachten sind und die auch die Entwicklungsperspektiven entscheidend mit beeinflussen, hat Hartmut Delmas in seinem Kolloquiumsvortrag im Rahmen der Ungarischen Wirtschafts- und Kulturtage in Hamburg 1982 auf die ebenso kurze wie einfache Formel gebracht: „Wer lehrt mit welcher Absicht was für Inhalte für wen?“ (Delmas 1983, S. 114). In dieser Formel befinden sich die einzelnen Elemente in einem interdependenten Beziehungsgeflecht. Dieses Beziehungsgeflecht läßt sich für unsere Zwecke am besten auflösen, wenn wir es von hinten, von dem Element „Für wen?“, also von den Studenten aus, anpacken.

Die Studenten in den Finnisch-Ugrischen Instituten lassen sich in verschiedene Gruppen einteilen:

1. Studenten der Finno-Ugristik im Hauptfach mit
 - 1.1 Schwerpunkt Ungarische Philologie,
 - 1.2 einem anderen Schwerpunkt;

2. Studenten der Finno-Ugristik im Nebenfach mit Schwerpunkt Ungarische Philologie, die im Hauptfach
 - 2.1 eine andere Philologie,
 - 2.2 ein anderes Fach wie z. B. Geschichte, Wirtschaftswissenschaften, Geographie, Politologie, Soziologie, Volkskunde etc. studieren;
3. Studenten der Finno-Ugristik im Nebenfach mit einem anderen Schwerpunkt als Ungarische Philologie;
4. Studenten aus den unter 2.2 genannten Fächern, die nur an den Sprachkursen teilnehmen, um sich in ihrem Hauptfach auf Ungarn spezialisieren zu können;
5. Studenten, die nicht aus fachlichem Interesse, sondern aus privaten Gründen Ungarisch oder Finnisch lernen.

Bei den unter 1.2, 2.1 und 3. aufgeführten Studenten überwiegt eindeutig die Absicht, sich eine sprach- und/oder literaturwissenschaftliche Kompetenz anzueignen, um später eine Tätigkeit in diesem Berufsfeld ausüben zu können. Allerdings gilt für Finno-Ugristen, daß die Berufsmöglichkeiten als Finno-Ugrist ausgesprochen gering sind. Für diese Studentengruppen, für die Ungarn im allgemeinen nicht im Vordergrund des Interesses steht, scheint eine einführende Veranstaltung in die Landeskunde Ungarns völlig ausreichend zu sein. Analoges gilt auch für die Studenten der fünften Gruppe, die auf Grund ihrer engen privaten Kontakte zu Ungarn bereits gute landeskundliche Kenntnisse besitzen oder aber häufig das Erlernen der ungarischen Sprache sehr schnell wieder aufgeben.

Von großer Bedeutung für den landeskundlichen Unterricht im Sinne einer Beschreibung der ungarischen Realität in ihren historischen und räumlichen Bezügen sind dagegen die unter 1.1, 2.2 und 4. genannten Gruppen. Für die Hauptfach-Finno-Ugristen mit Schwerpunkt Ungarische Philologie ergibt sich durch die Intensivierung des Landeskunde-Unterrichts über die Vermittlung eines Basiswissens über Ungarn hinaus die Möglichkeit, ein vertieftes Sprach- und Literaturverständnis sowie eine bessere interkulturelle Kommunikationsfähigkeit zu erwerben. Die Chance, sich dadurch das mögliche Berufsfeld gegenüber einem „Nur“-Linguisten zu erweitern, dürfte auf der Hand liegen.

Für die Studenten aus den nichtlinguistischen Fächern steht zunächst der Spracherwerb im Vordergrund. Diese Studenten sind jedoch hochgradig motiviert, in ihrem jeweiligen Hauptfach „Ungarn-Experten“ zu werden. Diese Motivation durch interessanten und auf die jeweiligen Bedürfnisse zugeschnittenen Sprachunterricht sowie durch eine die jeweilige fachliche Herkunft berücksichtigende Landeskunde aufrechtzuerhalten oder gar zu verstärken, ist meiner Meinung nach eine sehr wichtige Aufgabe der Finnisch-Ugrischen Institute und würde ihre weitere Existenzberechtigung sicherlich verstärken. Zumal aus diesen motivierten Nebenfach-Studenten häufig auch gute Finno-Ugristen hervorgegangen sind.

Dieses mag schon genügen, um die besonderen Schwierigkeiten bei der Konzeption einer Landeskunde im Rahmen der Finno-Ugristik aufzuzeigen. Obgleich die absolute Gesamtzahl der Studenten in den einzelnen Finnisch-Ugrischen Instituten im Vergleich zu anderen Philologien wie Anglistik, Romanistik etc. gering ist, zeigt die Zusammensetzung der Studenten hinsichtlich der fachlichen Herkunft, der Ausbildungsziele, der Berufsmöglichkeiten, der Semesterzahl und der Sprachkenntnisse ein äußerst heterogenes Bild und stellt somit jeweils auch besondere Anforderungen an die Landeskunde. Im Grunde müßte für jeden Studenten ein individueller Studienplan aufgestellt werden.

Hieraus folgt als *1. Aufgabe*: Stärkung der Landeskunde, um weitere Berufsmöglichkeiten zu eröffnen und das Fach Finno-Ugristik attraktiver zu gestalten.

Und als *2. Aufgabe*: Abstimmung der Inhalte einer Landeskunde Ungarns auf die individuellen Bedürfnisse der Studenten.

Diesen Forderungen steht eine andere Randbedingung, nämlich die Größe und fachliche Zusammensetzung des Lehrkörpers an den Finnisch-Ugrischen Instituten diametral entgegen. Die hauptamtlichen Mitglieder des Lehrkörpers, auch die Lektoren, sind in der Regel alle Philologen, die zu einem großen Teil ihre eigene Ausbildung reproduzieren. Überdies läßt die geringe Größe des Lehrkörpers die hier geforderte fachliche Diversifizierung kaum zu, so daß man weiterhin davon ausgehen muß, daß die Landeskunde nur durch Lehrbeauftragte vertreten wird. Die Etatisierung einer derartigen Planstelle ist unter den heute gegebenen Umständen nichts weiter als ein schöner Wunschtraum.

Dennoch bleibt als *3. Aufgabe* bestehen: Streben nach Verankerung der Landeskunde im hauptamtlichen Lehrkörper.

3.2 Lehrbuch zur Landeskunde Ungarns

Weiter oben wurde ausgeführt, daß landeskundliche Themen in den Sprachlehrbüchern bisher nur wenig Eingang gefunden haben.

Daraus ergibt sich die *4. Aufgabe*: Revision der Lehrbücher unter stärkerer Verwendung landeskundlicher Texte.

Abgesehen davon mangelt es auch an einer grundlegenden Darstellung zur Landeskunde Ungarns, die die verstreut und zum großen Teil nur in ungarischer Sprache vorliegenden Ergebnisse der einzelnen landeskundlich relevanten Disziplinen beinhaltet, die aktuellen Problemstellungen hervorhebt und Hilfestellung zur selbständigen Weiterarbeit leistet.

Somit lautet die *5. Aufgabe*: Erstellung einer grundlegenden Einführung in die Landeskunde Ungarns.

An dieser Aufgabe wird bereits gearbeitet. So wurde auf dem Hungarologen-Kongreß 1981 das Buchprojekt „*Einführung in die Hungarologie*“ vorgestellt, das folgende Kapitel umfassen soll:

1. Einführung: Bevölkerungszahl, geographische Lage, natur-, wirtschafts- und siedlungsgeographische Skizze Ungarns und der von Ungarn bewohnten Gebiete,
2. Sprache,
3. Geschichte Ungarns, entweder ausführliche Chronologie oder Darstellung der Geschichte bis 1950,
4. Literatur und Kunst,
5. Volkskunde,
6. Bibliographie.

Der Umfang soll alternativ 25 oder 40–50 Bogen umfassen, wobei für jedes Kapitel ca. 3–6 bzw. 6–12 Bogen vorgesehen sind. So lobenswert dieses Projekt zweifellos ist, so hat es meiner Meinung nach doch einen entscheidenden Mangel: es behandelt nur ungenügend das heutige Ungarn, so wie es sich von 1950 bis jetzt entwickelt hat, z. B. die Verfassung, die Gesellschaftsstruktur, das Erziehungswesen etc. Ein ganz entscheidender Teil der Realien fehlt (zur Kritik vgl. auch Rákos 1983, S. 10–11).

Ich selbst habe im Rahmen der Partnerschaft unserer beiden Universitäten (Hamburg und Budapest) eine „*Kultur- und Landeskunde Ungarns*“ koordiniert, deren Manuskript von ca. 400 Seiten jetzt praktisch abgeschlossen ist. Es umfaßt folgende Kapitel:

1. Geographische Grundlagen: Naturgeographische Faktoren, Charakterisierung der natürlichen Landschaftseinheiten, demographische Faktoren, Siedlungsstruktur (146 Seiten).
2. Wirtschaft: System der ungarischen Planwirtschaft, Rohstoffpotential und Energieversorgung, Industrie, Landwirtschaft, Charakterisierung der Wirtschaftsregionen, Außenhandel und Fremdenverkehr (80 Seiten).
3. Geschichte: Historische Entwicklung Ungarns unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des 20. Jahrhunderts (28 Seiten).
4. Staat und Gesellschaft: Verfassung, Aufgaben und Organisation der staatlichen Organe, Charakterisierung der verschiedenen Massenorganisationen, Gesellschaftsstruktur (38 Seiten).
5. Bildungs- und Wissenschaftsorganisation: Organisation und Funktion der verschiedenen Institutionen im Bildungswesen und in der Wissenschaft (25 Seiten).
6. Kulturgeschichte: Charakterisierung der Leitlinien der kulturgeschichtlichen Entwicklung und der diese bestimmenden Faktoren (63 Seiten).
7. Anhang: Literaturhinweise, Statistiken, Karten (20 Seiten).

Auch dieses Manuskript ist noch weit entfernt von einer optimalen Fassung. Bei 9 Autoren ließen sich eine gewisse Uneinheitlichkeit und Verschiebungen im Anteil der

einzelnen Kapitel nicht vermeiden. Aber es wird schon an der Gliederung ersichtlich, daß es insgesamt sehr viel stärker gegenwartsbezogen aufgebaut ist.

Die Themenbereiche Sprache und Literatur sind nicht vertreten, weil es hier andere einschlägige, gut zugängliche Informationsmöglichkeiten gibt und diese Bereiche sowieso schon feste Bestandteile des philologischen Unterrichts bilden. Als Hauptproblem stellt sich jetzt die Frage nach einem Verlag, der bereit ist, diese „Kultur- und Landeskunde Ungarns“ zu veröffentlichen.

3.3 Entwicklung eines Curriculums „Ungarn-Studien“

Angesichts der bisher skizzierten, übermächtig und eigentlich nicht lösbar erscheinenden Probleme würde man sicherlich auf Verständnis stoßen, wenn man vorschlagen würde, die Augen zu schließen und resignierend so wie bisher weiterzumachen. Nun, ich möchte noch nicht resignieren, sondern vielmehr dafür plädieren, einen Vorschlag aufzugreifen, zu diskutieren und fortzuentwickeln, den meines Wissens zum ersten Male in dieser Form György Szépe auf dem Hungarologen—Kongreß 1981 den Hungarologen unterbreitet hat (Szépe 1983). Er schlägt die Einführung eines Studiengangs „Ungarn-Studien“ mit einem möglichst offen gestalteten Curriculum vor, das aus verschiedenen aufeinander abgestimmten Bausteinen zusammengesetzt ist, die für den einzelnen Studenten je nach Fachrichtung in unterschiedlicher Form kombiniert werden; ein Curriculumprinzip übrigens, dem der Hamburger Studienplan für Finno-Ugristik bereits seit langem folgt.

Die 5 Hauptbausteine sind folgende (Szépe 1983, S. 202):

1. Einführung in „Ungarn-Studien“; 2 Semester mit insgesamt 6 SWS, in denen die Grundlagen der anderen 4 Bausteine unterrichtet werden und auf der jene aufbauen.
2. Ungarische Sprache und Linguistik für Sprachwissenschaftler; je nach Aufbau des Studiums 2 bis 6 Semester mit insgesamt 20 bis 28 SWS.
3. Ungarische Linguistik für Finno-Ugristen; hier wird der 2. Baustein um weitere finno-ugrische Inhalte ergänzt.
4. Die eigentlichen „Ungarn-Studien“ von ca. 6 Semestern, die zu je 1/3 bestehen aus:
 - ungarische Sprache und Sprachwissenschaft
 - ungarische Literatur und Kunst
 - Landeskunde Ungarns.

Die Inhalte der Landeskunde sind nach Szépe kurzgefaßt folgende (Szépe 1983, S. 205–206):

- Geschichte, insbesondere Wirtschaftsgeschichte als Gerüst der Landeskunde
- Volkskunde

- Geographie
- Sozialgeschichte und/oder sozialwissenschaftliche Themen im Rahmen der Geschichte und Geographie
- Ein Themenbereich „Ungarn heute“, der z. B. Fragen der Gewerkschafts-, Wissenschafts-, Kultur- und Unterrichtsorganisationen usw. behandeln soll.
Diese Themenliste wird von Szépe bewußt als eine offene Liste betrachtet.
- 5. „Ungarn-Studien“ als Bestandteil anderer Studiengänge, wobei einzelne Elemente aus den bisher genannten Bausteinen übernommen und ggf. ergänzt werden.
Solche anderen Studiengänge sind z. B.:
 - historische und sozialwissenschaftliche Studiengänge
 - Regional-Studiengänge, wie z. B. Osteuropa-Studien
 - kulturwissenschaftliche Studiengänge.

Auf dem ersten Blick erscheint der Vorschlag von Szépe äußerst kompliziert. Zur inhaltlichen Konkretisierung bedarf der Vorschlag noch mancher Überlegungen und zu seiner Durchführung sicherlich vieler organisatorischer Mühen; aber er ist intensiven Nachdenkens wert.

Als 6. und 7. Aufgabe stellen sich somit: Erarbeitung eines landeskundlichen Curriculums und Etablierung eines Studienganges „Ungarn-Studien“.

Auf die Finnisch-Ugrischen Institute in Hamburg, Göttingen, München und Wien bezogen, hätte die Umsetzung dieses Vorschlages mit Sicherheit Konsequenzen, von denen ich einige hier nennen möchte:

- Keines der 4 Institute könnte einen solchen Studiengang „Ungarn-Studien“ allein durchführen, weder als eigenständigen Studiengang noch im Rahmen eines anderen, fächerübergreifenden Studienganges. Er könnte realistischerweise wohl nur an 1, max. 2 Instituten eingerichtet werden.
- Erforderlich wäre in jedem Fall eine enge fachliche und personelle Zusammenarbeit der 4 Institute.
- Ebenso unabdingbar wäre an der Universität, wo „Ungarn-Studien“ eingerichtet werden sollen, eine enge interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit mit denjenigen Fächern, die Ungarn-bezogene Lehre bereits anbieten oder anbieten können.
- Und schließlich müßten auch die Ressourcen der außeruniversitären Forschungsinstitute, wie z. B. die des Südost-Instituts in München, herangezogen werden, die bisher bei der universitären Vermittlung der heutigen ungarischen Realität im Rahmen der Finno-Ugristik leider nur in einem unbefriedigendem Ausmaß ausgeschöpft werden.

— Und ein letztes: Ohne aktive Hilfe aus Ungarn, sei es durch Bücherspenden, sei es durch die Ermöglichung von regelmäßigen intensiven Kontakten zwischen den Wissenschaftlern, wofür der Partnerschaftsvertrag zwischen der Eötvös Loránd-Universität Budapest und der Universität Hamburg einen Modellfall darstellt, sei es durch Aufenthalte von Gastwissenschaftlern oder sein es durch die Bereitstellung einer „Ungarn-Professur“, können alle die Aufgaben nicht erfüllt, die Entwicklungsperspektiven nicht verwirklicht werden

Die bisher von ungarischer Seite geleistete großzügige Hilfe hat die Angehörigen des Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminars der Universität Hamburg — Hochschullehrer wie Studenten — ermutigt, den beschwerlichen Weg zur Erfüllung dieser Aufgaben zu beschreiten, und sie hat einem erheblichen Umfang dazu beigetragen, daß wir auf diesem Weg bereits ein gutes Stück vorangeschritten sind.

Abkürzungen in dem Literaturverzeichnis

FUM = *Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen*, Zeitschrift, Hamburg

MNy = *Magyar Nyelv*, Zeitschrift, Budapest

UAJb = *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, Zeitschrift, Göttingen

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WIEN, 1.—5. SEPTEMBER 1986**

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Veranstalter/Szervezők:

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3. Die Frage der bäuerlichen Verbürgerlichung im Donaauraum. Aufschwung und Verfall der Volkskultur.

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HUNGARIAN-AMERICAN BILINGUALISM: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

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Some of the Hungarian communities in America were established more than a century ago*. The bulk of Hungarian emigration to the United States took place between 1870 and 1914, with two smaller waves of immigrants arriving after World War II and in 1956–57. According to Waggoner (1981: 493), the total number of Hungarians in the USA in 1970 was estimated to be 495,000. This estimate, as well as any other, should be viewed with caution due to the well-known inadequacies of US Census data on mother tongue. Fishman (1966: 50) has pointed out that until a “current language mastery” census is conducted we must remain somewhat sceptical of numerical estimates.

Surveying Hungarian linguistic scholarship in the United States, John Lotz (1967) called attention to the need to describe Hungarian-American English language contact. Eleven years later Andrew Kerek (1978: 66) commented that the synthesis Lotz had called for was “still nowhere in sight”. As I write this essay (in October 1983), Kerek’s statement is as valid as ever.

My purpose is to survey the literature on H(ungarian)-A(merican) (hereafter: H-A) bilingualism. I will look at some of the background information students of H-A bilingualism need to consider, and will then survey the literature on H(ungarian) as spoken in North America, i.e. *Magyol*, to use A. Makkai’s term (1979: 495) and that on E(nglish) as spoken by Hungarian-Americans (*Hunglish* in Makkai’s sense). While section I on background information and the sources of linguistic study does not pretend to be exhaustive at all, the sections on *Magyol* and *Hunglish* are meant as possibly complete surveys of the literature.

I. Background Information on Hungarian-Americans

General information on Hungarian-Americans is found in the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Benkart 1980), in Széplaki (1975), which is “a

* The author is indebted to Jeff Harlig (University of Chicago) for his valuable criticism of an earlier draft of this paper.

chronology and fact book" as the subtitle of the book indicates, and in Széplaki's bibliography *Hungarians in the United States and Canada* (1977).

Taborsky (1955) has dealt with the Hungarian press in America, Lotz (1967) has surveyed Hungarian linguistics, and Fishman (1966) has studied Hungarian language maintenance in the United States. The latter work remains the best sociolinguistic account of Hungarian-Americans. Information on H-A churches, their current life and activities, is found, for instance, in the yearbooks of The Hungarian Reformed Federation of America (published in Ligonier, Pennsylvania) and in Török (1978), which is an invaluable history of Hungarian Roman Catholic parishes in the US and Canada.

Julianna Puskás (1982b) has completed a monumental Hungarian-language book on the history of Hungarian emigration to the US between 1880 and 1940. A shortened English version of her book, *From Hungary to the United States (1880—1914)* has also been published (1982a). Besides Puskás's books several articles deal with various aspects of emigration history: Gellén (1982) studied the geographical origins of Hungarians in Toledo, Ohio, Tarján (1982) the early history of the Hungarian Reformed Church in America, and Harsányi (1982) deals with the spiritual heritage of Protestant Hungarian-Americans.

Linda Dégh's paper, *The Ethnicity of Hungarian-Americans* (1980) is by far the best and most comprehensive ethnographic study. With Andrew Vázsonyi she has studied Hungarians in Canada (Dégh and Vázsonyi 1971—1975) as well as in the Calumet region southeast of Chicago, Illinois (Dégh and Vázsonyi 1969). Vázsonyi has published an excellent study on boarding house life in Hungarian immigrant communities both in English (1978) and Hungarian (1980).

Hungarian-Americans have created some belletristic works as well. Rickert (1920) is an anthology of A-H* poems and songs edited by an American-Hungarian and published in Budapest. Konnyu (1962) is a history of A-H literature before 1960. Borbándi (1980) is an informed survey of the current literary activities of Hungarians. The strength of Hungarian emigrant poetry is shown by the publication of two recent anthologies: one in the West (Kemenes 1980) and one in Hungary (Béládi 1981). Problems of Hungarian poetry in the diaspora were recently discussed at a symposium in Toronto (cf. *Hungarian Studies Review* 8 [1981] 1: 127–135).

Some A-H literature mocks the corrupted Hungarian used by immigrants: Adam Makkai's poem (1966) and Pál Kántor's "letter from America to Hungary" (1978) are cases in point. The linguistic aspects of the immigrant's problems in adapting to American society are humorously exposed by Wass (1980) and Cseh (1975). The latter's short story is entitled *Szí-esz-í-écs*, the Hungarian way of transcribing the English spelling of the word *c-s-e-h*, which is the writer's unpronounceable Hungarian surname.

* American-Hungarian (A-H) means Hungarian as spoken or written by Hungarians living in America.

Some literary works written in Hungary also bear loosely on A-H life. Sebők (1914) wrote a short story about a poor emigrant woman's life in America, and the novelist Áron Tamási, who spent 1923–26 in America working in factories, foundries and banks, wrote *Ábel Amerikában* (Abel in America), a book vividly depicting the ups and downs of an immigrant's life. Among the numerous travelogues written by contemporary Hungarian writers about the United States the only useful book from the sociolinguistic point of view is Ignácz (1980). Some of Ignácz's sketches are masterly and faithful renderings of present-day H-A life.

Useful information on various aspects of H-A immigrant life can be found in Máthé (1942), Konnyu (1967) and A. Molnar (1977). Weinstock (1969) is a sociological study of the acculturation of the 1956 refugees in the US containing some data on the refugees' use of English. Sós (1973) is an overview while Ludányi (1974) displays the sentiments against intermarriage. Although Sárközi (1981) deals with how 1956 refugees have fared in England, it offers some interesting comparisons for the study of Hungarian-Americans.

Problems of H-A identity are examined by Joseph Reményi (1934, 1937b) from a socio-psychological point of view. Sanders (1973) is an informed layman's account of the linguistic dilemma of Hungarian-Americans. A. Makkai (1972) describes the cultural and linguistic plight of H-A children brought up as monolingual Hungarians in their families before they went to an American school. Makkai also offers a pedagogical strategy for avoiding the double disadvantage of semilingualism, i.e. speaking neither English nor Hungarian correctly in America.

Students of present-day H-A bilingualism will find some interesting information in Lőrincze (1980), Szántó (1983) and especially K. Nagy (1981). Borbándi (1977) is a West European Hungarian's report on H-A communities. Finally, Nehler (1981b) is one of the few papers written about a Hungarian community by an American with no Hungarian background whatsoever.

"Efforts to preserve the Hungarian language" is the title of a chapter in Puskás (1982a) in which the author surveys the role of Hungarian schools from 1893, the year the first Hungarian schools were set up in America, through the 1920s. Two recent works relevant to Hungarian-language instruction in the US today are K. Nagy (1977) and Nádas and Somogyi (1980).

Not all Hungarians who crossed the Atlantic went to the United States: some immigrated into Canada. Canadian-Hungarians have also become the topic of various ethnic studies. Foremost among them is Kosa (1957), *Land of Choice: The Hungarians in Canada*. Dreisziger (1981) gives an account of immigrant lives and lifestyles in Canada between 1924 and 1939 offering information on the acquisition of English in the first generation and that of Hungarian in the second. Kovács (1981: 45) contains a reference to interethnic "disharmony" between Hungarians and Slovaks and arguments about the frequency and extent of the languages to be used in services. Dégh

(1980b) examines folk religion as motivation for ethnic survival in the Hungarian community of Kipling, Saskatchewan. Kovács (1980a) is a history of the same community, which is also called *Békevár*, while Kovács (1980b) deals with early Hungarian-Canadian culture in general. Finally, four papers on maintaining Hungarian in Canada should be mentioned: Hegedüs (1979–80), Horváth (1981), and Csapo (1983a and 1983b).

Dojcsák (1981) is a book and Dojcsák (1983) an article on a Canadian-Hungarian community. The latter contains some informal observations about *Magyol* and *Hunglish*.

Background Literature Usable as Linguistic Data

Several books, albums and articles provide background information on Hungarian-Americans as well as corpora worth analyzing linguistically. Books which portray notable Hungarian-Americans (e.g. Káldor 1937) and their communities (e.g. Sári 1966, and especially 1978) often contain documents that faithfully reflect the languages of Hungarian-Americans. Especially rich in this respect is Sári's *Clevelandi magyar múzeum* (Hungarian Museum of Cleveland), which contains not only documents but also plenty of photographs often providing valuable samples of *Hunglish* and *Magyol*.

Two of the many albums are the *Golden Jubilee Album of the Magyar People in South Bend, Indiana 1882–1932* and *Az Amerikai Magyar Népszava aranyjubileumi albuma* (Golden Jubilee Album of the Newspaper "Amerikai Magyar Népszava") published in New York in 1950. Both contain plenty of material worthy of linguistic analysis.

Könnyü (1961), the Hungarian original of Konnyu (1962), should also be mentioned in this connection.

Puskás (1982b: 551–579) contains transcripts of tape-recorded interviews with American-Hungarians and with people who re-migrated to Hungary. Fascinating though the fourteen interviews are, linguistically they are of dubious value since the author, rather than publish the interviews verbatim, has made editorial changes in the transcripts. However, three printed pages of correspondence between a Hungarian-American and his brother-in-law in Hungary have, fortunately, been published verbatim.

Next, Tezla's two monumental books (in preparation) should be mentioned. His two-volume book to be published in Hungary will contain a plethora of documents drawn from newspapers, church and governmental archives, imaginative literature, and personal correspondence. The editorial material will comprise about 75 printed pages, including a *Magyol* word-list. An American edition with the working title *The*

Hungarian Quest: A Documentary of Hungarians in America, 1895—1920 is also in preparation.

D. Nagy (1978 and 1979) are two volumes on the folklore of American-Hungarians gleaned from newspapers, calendars and similar publications. Although the material is rich and varied (prayers, anecdotes, weather forecasts and proverbs as well as canvassing songs and popular poems are some of the types of literature collected), it is unfortunately rendered nearly useless from the linguist's point of view because serious doubts can be raised about the philological accuracy of the material, especially its spelling as printed in the two volumes. The section on Hungarian as it is spoken in America (1978: 256–260) and the list of English loanwords in American Hungarian (1978: 261–268) are fraught with inaccuracies and offer very little that has not been said by others earlier.

Finally, the language usage interviews used in the *Project on Hungarian-American Bilingualism in South Bend, Indiana* serve the double purpose of providing sociolinguistic information and a corpus worth analyzing linguistically. Kontra and Nehler (1981b) is the verbatim transcript of an English interview between a native speaker of American English and a 1956 refugee while Nehler (1981a) is a near-verbatim* transcript of a Hungarian interview with a second-generation Hungarian-American. Another part of the South Bend Project (Kontra 1984) contains, verbatim, the type-written autobiography of an old Hungarian woman.

Corpora for the Study of Hungarian and American English in Contact

Any written or spoken record of *Magyol* and *Hunglish* can be used as a corpus for the study of H-A bilingualism. In principle written records can be subdivided into primary and secondary records. Primary records are all manuscripts, i.e. letters, hand-written minutes of parish council meetings and the like. These are called primary sources because they represent genuine language material unchanged in any way by editors or typesetters. There is certainly an abundance of primary written records of *Magyol* and *Hunglish*, yet most of them are unavailable for linguistic analysis as they are buried in the storerooms of various collections. One interesting piece of this kind of material has been published by éjl [sic] (1974): it is a letter written in Hungarian by an American student from Portland, Oregon studying at the University of Szeged in Hungary.**

* The editors of *Új Látóhatár* have unfortunately "edited out" the interviewer's uses of *tetszik* as in *Melyik misére tetszik járni?*. Apart from these changes, the published interview is an adequate copy of the tape-recording. Nothing has been changed in the informant's speech.

**Obviously, there is a difference between Hungarian as spoken or written by Hungarians in America and Hungarian as spoken or written by Americans learning Hungarian in Hungary. The former is *Magyol*

Less reliable from the linguistic point of view are all the newspapers published by Hungarian-Americans since they inevitably bear the mark of their editors' pens. There are two problems in analyzing the *Magygal* (and to a lesser extent the *Hunglish*) of newspapers. First, editors make editorial changes in word usage, syntactic patterns and spelling, thereby misrepresenting actual usage and turning primary linguistic material into secondary. Second, the changes made by an editor reflect his idiolect and it is hard to know whether one is dealing with an editor's idiosyncratic use of *Magygal* or with something that enjoys general currency in America. All this said, newspapers are an important corpus to study. The National Széchényi Library in Budapest is reputed to have the largest collection of A-H newspapers; alas, the use of that collection by researchers is restricted. It may be no accident that the first thorough linguistic analysis of A-H newspapers was carried out only quite recently (Kontra 1982a).

Mention should be made in this connection of *The Edmund Vasváry Collection* donated by a devoted H-A pastor to the Somogyi Library in Szeged. Among other things it contains a wealth of A-H newspapers and clippings. Unfortunately, a very small part of the collection was lost on the way to Hungary, therefore the entire collection can only be studied on microfilm at the American Hungarian Foundation, New Brunswick, N. J. (cf. Péter 1982: 604-605).

A very important secondary source is Péter Halász's *Második Avenue* (Second Avenue), a 670-page novel about the vicissitudes of a 1956 Hungarian refugee family arriving in New York City's Hungarian neighborhood. Besides portraying H-A life in great detail, the book offers several fine insights into the psychological and linguistic problems immigrants had to tackle. Written by a Hungarian-American, the language of the novel is well worth a thorough analysis as it contains a great many instances of code-switching that appear to faithfully represent actual code-switchings in *Magygal* speech.

As Adam Makkai (1979) has put it, "when a person having resided abroad for a decade or two returns to Hungary and shows the effects of . . . *Magygal* . . . he is frequently ridiculed. The shock-therapy works fast and in a couple of weeks the person is restored to 'pure Hungarian'." One journalist's attempt to reflect the strangeness of *Magygal* to Hungarian ears is K. Molnár (1983), an interview with the H-A movie producer Robert Halmi.

Finally, among the written materials to be studied, mention should be made of language books written for immigrants and their children. Obviously, these have shaped *Magygal* speech, and probably to a greater extent the *Hunglish* spoken in America. One such book is Green 1919: *American Language Master: An English-Hungarian grammar, interpreter and dictionary* (cf. J. Molnár 1984).

proper; the latter can only be called *Magygal* because, like *Magygal* proper, it is Hungarian with English interference.

Tape-recordings constitute the second main type of corpus. These include collections made by professional linguists on the one hand, and by historians, ethnographers and sociologists on the other. The very first collection was made by Elemer Bako in the 1950s and 60s: he recorded the life-stories of several Hungarian-Americans, mainly representing old-timers' Hungarian speech in the eastern United States. Unfortunately, the transcription of Bako's 150 hours of recordings (1965: 212) has not been completed—his is a dormant collection waiting to be analyzed.

Chronologically the second is Béla Kálmán's (1970) 16-hour taped collection of *Magyol* speech recorded during his Ford scholarship in the US in 1968–69. Analysis of these recordings also awaits completion.

The third collection made by professional linguists is the recordings of the *Project on Hungarian-American Bilingualism in South Bend, Indiana*. They contain about 80 hours of *Magyol* and 60 hours of *Hunglish* speech. All of the Hungarian interviews were conducted by the present writer, a native speaker of Hungarian who taught at Indiana University, Bloomington during 1978–81. All of the English interviews were conducted by native speakers of American English: Gregory L. Nehler (Indiana University) and Jeff Harlig (University of Chicago). Thus the tapes contain Hungarian conversations between speakers of *Magyol* and a speaker of Standard Hungarian, and English conversations between speakers of *Hunglish* and a speaker of Standard American English. Basically, the South Bend collection contains three types of interviews: a Hungarian-language interview (Kontra forthcoming a), an English-language interview, and a language usage interview (published in Kontra and Nehler 1981b and Nehler 1981a). In addition, several hours of H-A radio programs* and interviews with H-A children have also been recorded. Transcription of the Hungarian tapes recorded for the South Bend Project has been completed. A description of the South Bend collections can be found in the *Directory of Speech Archives* of the American Dialect Society, compiled by Michael D. Linn. One copy of the entire collection is deposited at the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézete, Budapest) for use by bona fide researchers.

* An interesting piece of spoken *Magyol* has been published in *USA* No. 33 (1981), the Hungarian-language periodical of the International Communication Agency of the USA, distributed by the United States Embassy in Budapest. It is a verbatim transcript of a television interview with Tibor Serly, containing good examples of "looking for the right Hungarian word," e.g. *féltékeny* 'jealous' vs. *félénk* 'shy' and *továbbítani* 'to forward' vs. *folytatni* 'to continue' (cf. Bárdos and Bérczi 1981).

II. *Magyol*: Hungarian as Spoken in North America

Research publications on Hungarian as used in America are relatively few and of very uneven quality. Even the "major" projects manifest heterogeneity from a qualitative point of view. For instance, Szamek's Ph. D. dissertation, *The Eastern American Dialect of Hungarian: An Analytic Study* (1947) is somewhat marred by the author's insufficient knowledge of Hungarian. McRobbie (1979), an ethnolinguistic study of the Hungarian community of *Békevár* (Kipling), Saskatchewan, Canada has frequent references to the vocabulary, reading and writing tests used in the project but the reader learns nothing about the tests themselves and is left in the dark about how some of the author's diagrams have been arrived at. Györi (1979), a thesis written in Budapest, is—according to its author—an analysis of 200 issues of 40 different A-H newspapers. The reader is baffled, however, by a nearly total lack of documentation: in this 129-page paper the first example quoted with its locus occurs on p. 103!

One recurrent statement found in a number of papers on *Magyol* is the corruption or degeneration of Hungarian in America. Authors from Spissák (1906) to Györi (1979) lament the deterioration of "pure Hungarian" and accuse American-Hungarians of "mental laziness". The only dissenting voice is Fábíán (1948: 40) who realizes that "American-Hungarians cannot be blamed for preferring English to Hungarian in America." Illustrative of the general uninformed state of writers is the contrast between the following two opinions: Spissák (1906: 262) claims that *Magyol* is so full of English loanwords as to render it unintelligible to speakers of Metropolitan Hungarian whereas Rubinyi (1921: 12), although not denying some degree of deterioration, claims that the pure Hungarian of newspapers like *Szabadság* all but counterbalances the effect of English on *Magyol*.

By and large it can be said that the data on which the *Magyol* literature is based is scanty and haphazardly chosen, therefore the very few generalizations that are made cannot be taken seriously. It seems that the first study of *Magyol* not marred by inadequate data and incomprehensive analysis will be the *South Bend Project*.

In this section the literature on *Magyol* will be surveyed according to the following topics: phonetics and phonology, grammar, vocabulary, word-formation, code-switching, names, and pronouns of address.

Phonetics and Phonology

Szamek (1947) in his chapter on phonology treats in detail the sound substitutions occurring in the adaptation of English loanwords, e.g. *beauty parlor* > [bjudi pa:ler]

illustrates how English flapped *d* is adapted in *Magyol* (p. 37). English word-initial *st*-often becomes *št*- (p. 42), but no explanation is offered as to why this happens.

Since at least Rubinyi (1921: 12) linguists have speculated about the amount of interference in *Magyol* according to the various linguistic levels. Rubinyi claimed that mixing E with H primarily occurred in vocabulary, morphological mixing was much less evident and syntactic interference minimal. Writing of the typical Hungarian-American who considers the acquisition of E very important, Janda (1976: 591) claims that "In time his linguistic performance in Hungarian showed great interferences from English mostly on the lexical and sometimes at the syntactic levels, although never on the level of phonology." The claim about the non-existence of phonological-phonetic interference can be dismissed easily (cf. Kontra forthcoming b). As to the amount of lexical interference vs. interference in pronunciation, a methodological puzzle has yet to be resolved. Suppose in a stretch of *Magyol* 50 English loanwords occur and in the same stretch 50 Hungarian words are pronounced with aspirated stops. Should we say that lexical interference is 50 times larger than phonetic because aspiration is just one recurrent manifestation of English interference, or should we say that there are 50 instances of lexical interference and 50 of phonetic interference?*

Kálmán (1970a: 382–383) characterizes Hungarian immigrants as showing no signs of phonetic interference at all while the second generation manifest aspiration of stops, pronounce dark *l*'s, sometimes pronounce *r* in the American way and may pronounce *w* in place of *H v*. Kontra (forthcoming b) has shown that Kálmán's claims are too strong: immigrants sometimes do aspirate stops and some second-generation speakers, contrary to Kálmán's claim, have not acquired the pronunciation of Hungarian *gy*. In the latter study the perception data of 40 informants and the production data of 27 informants are analyzed from the points of view of aspiration, consonant gemination, pronunciation of *gy* and *r*, and the phonemic distinction of *mënt* [mënt] 'went' and *ment* [mænt] 'saves', which is characteristic of a large number of dialect speakers but not of Standard Hungarian. As is to be expected, this study has shown that there is variation within a speaker's pronunciation: e.g. a speaker may aspirate a stop in one word but not in another, and one minute he may aspirate the initial stop in a word and the next minute he may not aspirate it in the same word. Perhaps the most surprising finding of this preliminary report of the South Bend Project is that phonological production may be better than phonological perception. Some speakers of *Magyol* may produce geminate consonants or the *ě*:*e* distinction but not hear them.

* The criterion of intelligibility of *Magyol* to speakers of Standard Hungarian puts this question in a different light. 50 English loanwords in a stretch of *Magyol* make that stretch less intelligible than, say, 50 word-tokens pronounced with aspirated stops.

Hungarian vowel harmony, a hotly debated issue in current phonological theory, is little discussed in the *Magyol* literature. Szamek (1947: 47) notes "a particularly marked violation" in the indiscriminate use of the verbal suffix *-ol* and quotes [pikkolni] 'to pick' and [fikszolni] 'to fix'. Standard Hungarian for the former is [pikkelni]. Kontra (1981: 17) has remarked on the back suffix *-ba* in *Magyol* e.g. *Szauszbenba lakik már ötven éve* 'He has lived in South Bend for 50 years'. Unlike in *Magyol*, the name *South Bend* is treated as two words in Standard Hungarian therefore speakers of the standard say *Szausz Bendben*.

In her review of R. Vago's *The Sound Pattern of Hungarian*, McRobbie (1982: 285) uses data from bilingual Canadian-Hungarian children to show that Vago's vowel harmony rule and rounding harmony rule should be collapsed using angled brackets.

Intonation is even less discussed than vowel harmony. McRobbie (1979: 199) remarks that the intonation of her informants as a rule differs very little from Standard Hungarian and calls attention to an interesting finding: "in situations connected in one way or another with religious matters or activities, the intonation, tone of voice, and sentence speed undergo significant changes in every case without exception". This style change, she claims, consists in the intonation becoming more exaggerated and self-conscious, and words unstressed in Standard Hungarian become stressed in a prayer. Kontra (1981: 18) notes that *Magyol* sentence intonation is oftentimes influenced by English, e.g. *Tudom, hogy mi az* (< *I know what it is*) vs. Standard Hungarian *Tűdom, hogy mi az*.

Finally, Kálmán (1973 and 1975: 611) has observed that in the speech of second-generation speakers there are three degrees of consonant assimilation: (1) Standard Hungarian which is regressive, e.g. [nujorgba] 'into New York', (2) no assimilation, e.g. [nujorkba], and (3) progressive English assimilation, e.g. [hegyekpe] 'into (the) mountains' vs. Standard Hungarian *hegyekbe* [hegyegbe].

Grammar

An interesting morphological phenomenon in *Magyol*, the use of the superessive case-ending *-on* instead of the Standard Hungarian inessive *-ban* in examples like *Nubranszvikon* 'in New Brunswick' is explained by Kálmán (1970b: 44) in the following way: most Hungarian city- and town-names take *-on/-en/-ön* (e.g. *Budapesten* 'in Budapest') while there are a few exceptions taking *-ban/-ben* (e.g. *Debrecenben* 'in Debrecen'). All foreign city-names behave like *Debrecen*, cf. *Pécsen* 'in Pécs' vs. *Bécsben* 'in Vienna'. American-Hungarians often use *-on* where standard speakers would use *-ban* because to them *New Brunswick*, to use an example, is not a foreign city but their hometown.

In the same paper Kálmán also notes that *Magyol* placenames consisting of a city plus state are treated as a unit receiving only one suffix at the end, e.g. *Klivland Ohájóba laktam* 'I lived in Cleveland, Ohio' vs. Standard Hungarian *Klivlendben, Ohio államban laktam*. This construction is also used in reminiscing about the old country, e.g. *Szalóka, Szabolcs megyébe születtem*, 'I was born in Szalóka, Szabolcs county' vs. Standard Hungarian *Szalókán, Szabolcs megyében születtem*.

Kontra (1981: 17) notes in passing that some second-generation speakers do not acquire the morphonological assimilation rule needed to form the comitative case of nouns and say things like *cigányval* 'with a Gypsy' instead of Standard Hungarian *cigánnyal*.

Szamek (1947: 67) describes interference in the use of the indefinite article:

Standard Hungarian: *János is pilóta volt* 'John was also a pilot'

Magyol: *János is egy pájlet volt*,

and in pluralizing nouns after numerals, e.g.

Standard Hungarian: *mind a négy lapát* 'all four shovels'

Magyol: *mind a négy sofflik*.

Kálmán (1973: 204) describes a different case of not observing Standard Hungarian number concord:

Magyol: *aranyos vótak* 'they were nice'

Standard Hungarian: *aranyosak voltak*.

Kontra (1982a: 86–87) has a section on article usage in *Magyol*, the use of definite and indefinite conjugation of verbs, the use of various case-endings, and some idiosyncracies of *Magyol* syntax.

Magyol word-order is an interesting field for research but it is perhaps the most neglected area of investigation. Kálmán (1970a: 384) and Kontra (1981: 15 and 17) have a few examples of deviation from Standard Hungarian, and Fábíán (1948: 35) notes that addresses are always given with the English word-order.

Vocabulary

There are several papers and short notices on *Magyol* vocabulary as well as a few corpus-based studies. To the former group belong Spissák (1906), Gesztesi (1909), Rubinyi (1921), L. Nagy (1921), which is a review of Rickert (1920), Balassa (1928), Zsoldos (1938) and Gondos (1940). These writers list English loanwords in A–H, and sometimes they provide artificially constructed dialogs between A–H speakers to illustrate the point that *Magyol* is unintelligible to speakers of Standard Hungarian. *Révai Nagy Lexikona*, the standard Hungarian encyclopedia between the two world wars, also has an article on Hungarian language in America (vol. XXI, p. 572), written much in the same vein as the early articles. Hoffmann (1911: 260–262) contains a list

of sixty-odd *Magyol* words, each followed by the English word on which it was modeled and by its Standard Hungarian meaning, e.g. *bigbász* = *big boss* = *főmunkavezető*. Mencken (1937) has nothing new compared to Spissák (1906), Gesztesi (1909), etc.

Also to this group of impressionistic papers belongs Kelemen (1960), which is based on examples heard by the writer while talking to his fellow students on an American campus. It contains a few good examples of "looking for the right word" as well as conversational code-switches like *emberek, én sick vagyok of tanulog* 'Folks, I'm sick of studying'. Sanders (1973) is noteworthy for suggesting that names of diseases, which are adapted for reasons of euphemism, and words related to automobiles are two of the lexical subfields where penetration of English into Hungarian begins. Being a university professor, Sanders notes that if he did not read Hungarian-Hungarian (sic) journals regularly, he would not know such Standard Hungarian words as *kuka* 'garbage can' or *krimi* 'thriller', and would never dare write down a word like *meghibásodás* 'developing a mechanical fault, breaking down'.

In a chapter entitled "Semantics", Szamek (1947) deals with lexical problems, pointing out, for instance, cases of semantic borrowing such as *Magyol* [liker] 'an alcoholic beverage' (cf. English *liquor*) vs. Standard Hungarian *likőr* 'an alcoholic aromatic cordial essence'. His treatment of lexical borrowing, however, is often marred by suspicious Standard Hungarian data given as reference points, and sometimes "conclusions" are given without any data on which they might be based.

Kosa (1955: 24–25), who calls *Magyol* "pidgin-Hungarian", attributes three characteristic traits to *Magyol* vocabulary: (1) immigrants picked up English names for objects they had no Hungarian words for, (2) in other cases they use both the English and Hungarian words, but with different shades of meaning, and (3) they use many English words and idioms with the apparent intention of displaying their English. Related to the last point is an informal observation by Sanders (1973: 91): "the poorer the person's English, the more likely he is to mix English words into his Hungarian."

Next, the corpus-based studies of *Magyol* vocabulary will be considered. Fábán (1948) is based on an unknown number of then contemporary A–H newspapers. He draws his examples primarily from advertisements and concludes that "as a rule, the words denoting objects and concepts that American-Hungarians became familiar with after arrival in the United States are English loanwords affixed according to Hungarian ways." A welcome feature of this paper is its exemplification: most *Magyol* loanwords are cited in context. Lévai (1976) deals with the English loanwords in 275 pages of short stories and newspaper articles by János Lékai (John Lassen), a Hungarian Communist activist and writer who lived in the United States between 1922 and 1925. McRobbie (1979: 177) gives lists of loanwords drawn from her tape-recordings and provides a diagram showing the increase of lexical borrowing from one

generation of Hungarian-Americans to the next. However, one can neither deny, nor corroborate the validity of her diagram as nothing is revealed about how percentage values were calculated, lexical borrowings identified, etc.

One characteristic of *Magyol* speech is the large number of Latin-derived words in it. Sanders (1973: 94) argues that this is caused partly by the lack of exact translation equivalents of English words and partly by the belief that, with minor alterations, any foreign word can be Hungaricized. Fábián (1948: 35) quotes the example of *konvenció* used not in its Standard Hungarian sense 'common consent, custom' but with the meaning borrowed from English: 'gathering, conference'.* Several such examples of semantic shift are listed in Kontra (1982a: 85), e.g. *bazár*, *billió*, *blokk*, *continentális*, *federális*, *hall* etc. That semantic borrowing of this kind can cause genuine misunderstanding between speakers of *Magyol* and Standard Hungarian became clear to me in the "Jail House Motel" in San Diego, California a few years ago. Having checked in with the owner, my H-A friend and I started unpacking in our room when my friend said *Egy fia klozet sincs itt, mi?* I was baffled by the question, which I understood as *There isn't a single toilet here, is there?*, all the more so because my friend had just come out of the toilet. On a moment's reflection, however, I realized that he meant clothes closets. *Klozet* in Standard Hungarian means 'toilet' but in English *closet* meaning a particular room or outbuilding has long been replaced by *toilet*, *bathroom* etc. Now the word means 'clothes closet' (cf. Householder 1983: 10).

Three papers written for the South Bend Project deal with *Magyol* vocabulary. Kontra (1982a) is an extensive analysis of five A-H newspapers. The examples are classified as loanwords, hybrid loans, or cases of semantic borrowing. After each *Magyol* word its English model is quoted if it could be established, and each word is quoted in context and with its source. Kontra (1982b) is a preliminary report based on picture elicitation results obtained from eleven informants. It demonstrates that immigrant and American-born speakers are fairly different from the point of view of vocabulary dominance: the former group is dominant in Hungarian and the latter in English. Finally, Kontra and Nehler (1981a) is a study of ethnonyms like *Hunky* or *hanki*, *Slavish*, *kapuvári* 'a jocular name for Blacks', *polák*, *vadmagyar* 'debased Hungarian' etc. Mencken (1945: 601-602) also deals with *hunk*, *hunkie* or *hunky*.

Andrew Vázsonyi's *Túl a Kecegárdán* (Beyond Castle Garden; in preparation), a Hungarian dictionary of the Calumet region, will be undoubtedly the best source for

* Interestingly enough, although not unexpectedly, in this case Standard Hungarian has experienced the same semantic borrowing: newspaper reports of party conventions before a presidential election in the USA invariably tell us about the *demokrata párti konvenció* 'Democratic convention'. This meaning of the word is listed in the Concise Explanatory Dictionary of Hungarian (= *Magyar Értelmező Kéziszótár*, Budapest, 1972).

the study of *Magyol* vocabulary. Its richness and depth of treatment will probably be unmatched in at least the next few decades to come.

Finally, three papers should be mentioned for their demonstration of *Magyol* vocabulary in context. Nehler (1981a) is an interview with a second-generation American—Hungarian, Kálmán (1970a) contains two and Kontra (forthcoming a) one page of transcription of tape-recorded narrative text.

Word-formation

Szamek (1947: 65) shows how Standard Hungarian words that have an English cognate are replaced by the cognate-based loanwords in *Magyol*. For instance:

<i>Standard Hungarian</i>	<i>Magyol</i>
[trombita:lni]	[trampetolni]
[bomba:zni]	[bomolni]
[forsi: rozni]	[forsolni]
[kopi:rozni]	[kopiolni]
[pumpa:lni]	[pampolni]

He notes that “when the words appear in their nominative singular form, however, they always are used in the dialect as Standard Hungarian words: [trombita—bombo — pumpo].”

Szamek (1947: 69–70) also notes the “almost invariable” use of the /-oš/ suffix with loan-nouns denoting occupations and composed of a back vowel and *-er*, e.g. [bučeroš] ‘butcher’, [plommeroš] ‘plumber’ and [grosseroš] ‘grocer’.

In his dissertation Szamek (1947: 83) deals with the “extra” final vowels in *Magyol* nouns like *káré* ‘car’, *farma* ‘farm’ and *boksz* ‘box’. He analyzes them as cases of “stem accretion”, that is, the vowel needed between the uninflected nominative and a case-ending “becomes attracted to the stem form.” This analysis is dubious. First, it has been claimed that the Hungarian dialect word *káré* ‘a two-wheeled handcart’ may by extension come to be used to mean ‘car’ in America (Kálmán 1973: 202). More importantly, the influence of other immigrant communities should be taken into consideration. “Extra” stem-final vowels are found in the American Greek words *báksi* and *fárma* (Seaman 1972: 196–197), in American Polish *kara* and *baksa* (Lyra 1961: 229 and 231), in American Finnish *farmi*, *kaara* and *paksi* ‘box’ (Lehtinen 1966: 246–247) as well as in American Lithuanian *farmà* (Pažūsis 1982: 323). Pažūsis claims that *farma* shows the impact of American Polish on American Lithuanian. That some kind of *koine* of American immigrants may have shaped the form of at least some loanwords might be substantiated by further like loans, e.g. both American—Hungarian and American—Lithuanian have [laisnis] for *licence* (cf. Kontra 1982b: 539 and Pažūsis 1982: 325).

Code-switching

The term code-switching can be used to denote the alternating use of two languages as well as style-shifting within a language. H—A code-switching has not yet been studied systematically. Examples of interlingual code-switching are found, for instance, in Rubinyi (1921), Szamek (1947) and Kontra (1982a: 90–91). Rubinyi (1921: 13) quotes a newspaper advertisement in which a farmer wishing to sell his farm rounds off the ad by writing *A farm valóságos bargain* 'The farm is a real bargain'. It is suggested that the use of the English word (i.e. the switch to English) is "like playing one's trump-card".

Szamek (1947: 47) proposed the only syntactic restriction on Hungarian–English code-switching in the literature: "When the adjective is in English the usage of a Magyar noun is resisted", e.g. *kis májnidid* is an acceptable phrase but the synonymous **small eszű* 'birdbrained' is not.

Whether there is any intralingual code-switching (i.e. style-shifting) in *Magygal* speech will become clear when the Labovian danger-of-death questions (cf. Labov 1972: 92 ff.) in the South Bend tapes have been analyzed.

Names

Personal names, placenames, and names of animals used by American–Hungarians have been investigated by Mencken (1948: 440 and 524), Fábíán (1948: 34–35), Kálmán (1970b), Farkas (1971), Janda (1977) and McRobbie (1979: 178–181). Szamek (1947: 70) remarks on the suffix *-né* being invariably replaced by *Mrs.* A married woman who was called *Ácsné* 'Mrs. Ács' in the old country soon became [misiz a: ě] in America. Janda (1977) examines 15 placenames of Hungarian origin in the United States and concludes that "aggregates of Hungarians are not a criteria for official naming of places" (pp. 224–225).

Patterns of Anglicizing Hungarian personal names are examined in Mencken (1948), Fábíán (1948) and McRobbie (1979), the last one also has the only investigation into animal naming to date.

A comprehensive analysis of the names of American–Hungarians still awaits completion. When it is done, telephone directories might prove an important source of data. To such an analysis Csapo's (1983a: 83) report is relevant: she sent 1,750 mail questionnaires to Hungarian–Canadians who subscribed to a Hungarian newsletter and/or who had a Hungarian surname in the Vancouver telephone directory and/or whose surname was identifiable with surnames of Hungarian and non-Hungarian origin in the 1978 Budapest telephone directory. 433 questionnaires were returned by non-Hungarians whose surnames were identical with surnames of foreign origin in the Budapest telephone directory.

The Fate of the tu/vous Distinction in Magyarol

Kálmán (1970a: 384) reports that second-generation American-Hungarians cannot use *vous*-forms [Hungarian: *maga*, *ön*, etc.] in Hungarian. This should be interpreted as saying that the second-generation speakers whom Kálmán interviewed could only use *tu*-forms [Hungarian *te*].

McRobbie (1979: 201–202) reports that in Békevár, a Saskatchewan farming community, there is an attitude of preferring the more formal mode of address among some women, which she terms a survival of the traditional Hungarian peasant custom. The same formality between an old Hungarian woman in South Bend, Indiana and her equally old boarder, both of whom came from rural Hungary, is described in Kontra (1981: 18). The interesting thing about these bilingual women is that their rule of usage breaks down, for instance, in a narrative about a visit to an American physician. Telling the story in Hungarian of her doctor who asked her something about Hungarian and did not believe her answer, this informant said: *Nézd már, te akarsz engem magyarul tanítani?* 'Gee, you [= *tu*] are gonna teach me Hungarian?' From the interviews it is evident that this woman would never use the informal pronoun of address in relation to the Hungarian physician of the South Bend community. The explanation of this informality in a report about the American doctor might perhaps be the tendency to treat those who do not speak one's language as children. The same thing can often be seen in Budapest stores where Hungarian sales-clerks may use *tu*-forms, for instance, to Polish customers.

The informal mode of address is almost the rule among American-Hungarian professionals. Hungarians who travel in the United States are sometimes surprised by the informality used to them by people they have just met. Another linguistic manifestation of the social relationship between speakers is the way they want to be called by others. If a Hungarian advertises his house in a Budapest newspaper, he either puts his full name or his surname in the advertisement. This is not necessarily so with American-Hungarians. For example, in the weekly *Californiai Magyarság* a woman asks her potential customers this way: *Hívják Juditot* 'Will you [= *vous*] call Judith' (cf. Kontra 1982a: 91–92).*

III. Hunglish: English as Spoken by Hungarian-Americans

Perhaps surprisingly, the English of Hungarian-Americans has been even less investigated than their Hungarian speech. Nelson (1956) is the most comprehensive

* The English sentence *Call Judith*, which must have induced the Hungarian sentence, might not be typical in this situation in all parts of the United States.

study: a Ph. D. dissertation based on data from six informants living in Albany, Livingston Parish, Louisiana. Using the *Work Sheets for the Linguistic Atlas of the USA and Canada and Associated Projects* (1951), Nelson concentrated on the phonetic and lexical analysis of the English of her informants.

Nemser (1971a) is a revision of the author's 1961 Columbia University dissertation on the production and perception of English interdental fricatives and stops by eleven Hungarian-Americans.

About 60 hours of English speech has been recorded for the South Bend Project. Some of the tapes contain language usage interviews based on Gal (1979), cf. Kontra and Nehler (1981b). Most of the recordings, however, contain responses to the English-language questionnaire specifically compiled for the South Bend Project. This questionnaire contains the following sections: (1) guided conversation mainly based on Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1968), (2) vocabulary elicitation based on Pederson (1971) and four pictures of the *Oxford Picture Dictionary of American English* (cf. Kontra 1982b), (3) reading out words and passages similar to those used by Labov in his New York City study, (4) a "same or different?" listening test comprising 20 pairs of words, and (5) a writing test in which informants had to write as many English words in a minute as they could. As mentioned above, all of the English interviews were conducted by native speakers of Standard American English. Nehler (1981b) provides an informal characterization of the English of old-timers and of two 1956 refugees: a successful businessman, "whose English at times will pass as a native speaker's" and a skilled laborer.

Before turning to some details of *Hunglish*, a brief look at how Hungarian-Americans learned English might be in order. Kosa (1955) is the only study based on fairly rigorous sociological data-gathering. He interviewed 91 Hungarian men living in the Province of Ontario. They all arrived in Canada as adults and had no Canadian schooling. All came from the poor classes of Hungary and most of them achieved a certain financial success in Canada. Thus immigrants of middle class origin or of higher education, as well as women, were excluded from the survey. Kosa's findings can be summarized in the following: (1) except for one highly atypical case, none of the immigrants had studied English before coming to Canada, (2) they were unaware of how important the study of English is, (3) more than half of the informants never studied English, they just "picked up" what they knew, (4) 33 persons were taught either by friends or learned by themselves and only 7 persons studied English in school or through formal courses, (5) only 11 persons studied for a period longer than one year, and only 18 persons ever possessed an English grammar or dictionary. Kosa rightly points out that learning for his immigrants was not a systematic, purposeful activity: they learned the language incidentally. He says: "It would be grossly misleading to compare their methods of learning with those of the intellectuals. The latter learn language through a systematic program: they adopt the

grammatical rules, and acquire a certain vocabulary, then with the aid of these they try to express themselves" (1955: 24). Kosa's description of how his old-timers learned English is worth quoting at length:

"These immigrants, on the other hand, picked up English casually as it was offered by the different situations of life. In their various activities such as work, transportation, shopping, etc., they had to understand and use certain sets of words corresponding to a given situation. As they had to face more and more situations in their new life, they acquired more and more sets. But numerous as the sets may have been, they never developed into a grammatical system which would ensure a correct use of the language. Nor were these sets systematically broken down into single words which would ensure a command of English. These immigrants learned what the situation of life taught them, but they did not learn to express themselves. . . . Thus many of them apparently do not know the structure of negative sentences. They may use one negative sentence correctly when it is supported by an acquired set; but their next negation may be grammatically faulty because, in this case, they cannot resort to a fixed set. The stuttering that suddenly makes itself heard in the English speech of the immigrant is usually a sign that he has reached the limits of his acquired sets." (ibid.)

Obviously, this "natural situational acquisition" of English which Kosa excellently describes was sometimes aided (or hindered, depending on the quality of the teaching materials) by Hungarian-American newspapers. For instance, *A munka*, subtitled *The "Day's Work"*, a monthly published in Detroit, Michigan from 1919, carried English lessons regularly. Beside each picture in a lesson one or two English sentences were provided, followed by the English pronunciation of the sentence represented in Standard Hungarian orthography, and by its Hungarian translation, e.g.

Friday, September Twelfth—Twenty Pages

FRAJdÉ, szeptEMbör tuelft—TUENti PÉDSez.*

Péntek, szeptember tizenkettő—húsz oldal.

Vol. II, No. 1 (January 1920)

He painted the stairway.

hi PÉNted di SZTEERué.

Ő befestette a lépcsőzetet.

Vol. II, No. 3 (March 1920)

The literature on Hunglish will be surveyed in four sections: phonetics and phonology, grammar, vocabulary, and reading and writing.

Phonetics and Phonology

In V. Makkai (1978: 49) the claim is made that "many semi-bilinguals are able to learn the syntax and semantics of their second language to such perfection that they would be taken for true native speakers if it were not for their imperfect mastery of the

* Capitals in the Hungarian pronunciation indicate stress.

phonology". Hungarian-accented English is usually characterized as lacking [θ] and [ð], substituting [v] for [w], and rolled [r] for retroflex [ɾ] (cf., e.g. Nelson 1956: 101–119, Janda 1976: 590 and V. Makkai 1978: 51). Just like Germans and probably several other immigrant groups in America, Hungarian-Americans sometimes make the opposite mistake of substituting [v] for [w]: they may pronounce [w]'s in place of [v]'s. V. Makkai (1978: 49) calls this phenomenon phonological overlearning. Nelson (1956: 114) reported that four out of her six informants occasionally substituted [w] for [v].

Two observations concerning [θ] may be quoted from Nelson: one of her immigrant informants uses [θ] "only when guarded" (1956: 146), and [fift] for *fifth* and [sikst] for *sixth* are common not only in a second-generation Hungarian-American's speech but also in local speech (1956: 111).

Kosa (1955: 26) claimed that the Hungarian immigrant "has two sound impressions for each English word: an active one which he uses in his pidgin-language, and a passive one which he only hears when it is used by English people." Immigrants make few efforts to coordinate the two sound impressions of a word and thus create a basis for misunderstanding. Kosa (ibid.) described a second-generation Hungarian-Canadian who normally spoke English without accent but, in speaking *Magyol* with his parents, he had to pronounce English loanwords in "pidgin-Hungarian" because experience taught him that "the old folks would not understand the 'normal' English".

One characteristic feature of the Hungarian accent in English is the lack of aspiration. Non-aspiration of English stops may or may not cause misunderstanding. Kontra (1980) has claimed that native speakers of American English exhibit "contextual adjustability behavior", i.e. they will mishear what is spoken to them by foreigners or immigrants in order to get the intended meaning. They adjust the heard phonetic shapes according to the context, wherever context makes such adjustment possible.

Nemser's *Experimental Study of Phonological Interference in the English of Hungarians* (1971a; cf. also 1967 and 1971b) deals with the perception and production of English interdental fricatives and stops by 11 native speakers of Hungarian with a very limited knowledge of English. The most interesting findings of the study concern the interdentals: the subjects imitate them as labial fricatives, sibilants or stops; they tend to perceive them as labial fricatives; but produce them as stops. In a review Nádasdy (1973: 430) criticized Nemser for saying hardly anything about the language learning career of the informants, and he pointed out, quite correctly, that "With such a limited number of informants (4 or 5 on each test), any one of them is responsible for a large part of the variance in data; it remains unclear to what extent (if at all) the responses were the function of particular teaching methods or textbook explanations."

Finally, Vago and Altenberg (1977) have analyzed Hungarian-accented English on the basis of a paragraph read out by their informants.

Grammar

"Syntactical deviations influenced by Hungarian are numerous in the speech of the two older informants", says Nelson (1956: vi) but she gives only a handful of examples. One of them is **He's a so funny fellow* for *He's so funny a fellow* (p. 140) and another concerns gender assignment: **The cow is calling 'woo' to his calf* instead of . . . *to her calf* (p. 141).

Nelson used a few morphological questions in her study of *Hunglish*, and found, for instance, that 5 of her 6 informants say *throwed a stone* (p. 130). Once again, the influence of local English speech cannot and should not be disregarded.

Kontra and Nehler (1981b) is a sample of the English speech of a post-1956 refugee. An analysis of the English syntax of this refugee was presented at the *First Hungaro—American Colloquium on Bilingualism* at Columbia University, April 20—21, 1984 (cf. Kontra MS).

Vocabulary

Nelson (1956: 121) characterized her informants in the following way: "In general, the English vocabulary of the Hungarian colony at Albany is like that of the non-Hungarians in the locality. However, the foreign-born group naturally has a more limited knowledge of regional and local words than has the non-Hungarian population. The English dialect used by the Hungarians has a definitely local, rather than regional flavor. . . ."

Kosa (1955: 25) terms the English of Hungarian-Canadians "pidgin-English", which is "the summary of the English sets acquired". This kind of English, Kosa goes on to say, "is characterized by a faulty grammar and a deficient vocabulary, the deficiencies often being filled in with Hungarian, German, Jewish, or Latin words and idioms".

Kontra and Nehler (1981a) describe some ethnonyms (e.g. *Slavish* meaning 'Croatian-American', and *Hunky*, which, for some, is homophonous with *honky*) used in South Bend, Indiana.

In a controlled picture elicitation of English and Hungarian vocabulary items (Kontra 1982b) it has been found that the immigrants scored 72.36% on the Hungarian test and 60.36% on the English test, but the 2nd/3rd-generation speakers scored quite differently: only 33.43% on the Hungarian test but 82.54% on the English one.

Reading and Writing

Kosa (1955: 26) observed that some of his informants learned to read English but not to write it. He added that intellectuals are different: with them "learning of reading and writing goes almost hand in hand". In his survey Kosa tried to use a reading test, "the completion of which had to be given up because of the reluctance of the respondents" (p. 27). An important finding of this partial reading test was that "when reading, common words were pronounced differently from ordinary speech" (p. 27). This difference, however, is not explained by style-shifting (cf. Labov 1972). Rather, it is due to the inability of immigrants to relate the graphic form of an English word to its phonetic form.

Some data on the English reading skills of the South Bend informants have been obtained by having them read out lists of words and passages.

Finally, the problems that English spelling poses for Hungarian immigrants are well illustrated by Halász (1972), who tried to gather support among Hungarian-Americans for the Spelling Reform Society in Australia. Halász's contention is rather simple: English orthography is so full of archaisms and idiosyncracies as to render it too difficult to master not only for foreigners but also for large numbers of native speakers. Thus a spelling reform is badly needed. Once it is introduced, Hungarian-English bilinguals will learn English spelling much more easily.

Analysis of a tiny fraction of the South Bend data, namely the results of the writing test in which informants had to write as many English words in a minute as they could, will shed some light on the English literacy of Hungarian-Americans.

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* Items in this bibliography are entered according to the English alphabet; thus *Lőrincze*, for instance, comes before *Lotz*. When an author's name occurs both with and without Hungarian diacritics in print, the variants are listed separately, the one with the diacritics immediately following that without them. Now Hungarian-American data are separately grouped at the end of the list.

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LE HONGROIS DANS L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR À PARIS*

Ceux qui désirent affronter, dans le cadre de l'enseignement supérieur, les difficultés du hongrois se trouvent placés devant un choix: s'inscrire à l'I.N.L.C.O. (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, anciennement: Ecole des Langues Orientales, que tout le monde appela et continue d'appeler «Langues'O») ou bien prendre leur inscription au Centre d'Etudes finno-ougriennes (C.E.F.O.) de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris III (troisième sur la liste des treize universités créées à la suite des «événements» de 1968 dans la région parisienne).

Y a-t-il donc des milliers de personnes qui se pressent chaque année devant les portes de l'Université, animées par la seule ambition d'apprendre cette belle langue? Bien sûr que non. A la chaire de hongrois, on ne peut rencontrer au grand maximum qu'une soixantaine d'étudiants tous niveaux confondus, et c'est déjà bien appréciable! — Comble de l'extravagance apparente, ces élèves reçoivent le même enseignement, dispensé au même endroit (Centre Censier, 13, rue de Santeuil, Paris-5⁰) par les mêmes professeurs; de plus, depuis 1968, l'I.N.L.C.O. lui-même, fonctionne au sein de Paris III, comme un membre quelque peu à part, jouissant d'une indépendance certaine, soucieux de garder son identité, pour ne pas dire originalité.

Mais ne tombons pas dans la facilité d'une ironie aussi gratuite qu'injustifiée. Dans le pays de Descartes, cet état de choses à première vue surprenant ne manque pas d'explication rationnelle. Celle-ci tient à deux faits complémentaires: d'une part, l'augmentation considérable au cours des dernières décennies du nombre de ceux qui, pour des raisons diverses, s'intéressent au hongrois, plus généralement: aux langues et civilisations finno-ougriennes, d'autre part, le besoin accru de pousser ces connaissances au plus haut niveau (diplômes nationaux: licence, maîtrise, doctorats d'Etat, d'Université ou de 3^{ème} cycle). Conformément au principe de la pluridisciplinarité, les cours de hongrois, suivis avec succès, peuvent être comptabilisés comme «unités de valeur libres»¹ en vue de l'acquisition de diplômes de nature diverse ne concernant pas directement la langue et la culture hongroises.

*Ecrit en 1983, cet article ne correspond plus à la situation de 1985. Principal changement: l'I.N.L.C.O. a retrouvé son indépendance par rapport à PARIS III.

Cette possibilité de choix dont il est question au début de cet article, répond donc à une *différence réelle de but et de motivations* de la part des étudiants qui, d'ailleurs, au cours de leurs études, ont la possibilité de changer de filière à condition qu'ils aient acquis les qualifications nécessaires à la poursuite de leurs études dans un cycle universitaire traditionnel.

En ce qui concerne les études de hongrois proprement dites, celles-ci s'articulent de la façon suivante.

1^{er} cycle

Il n'y a pas de D.E.U.G. (Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires Générales²), les U.V. (Unités de Valeur) sont réparties sur deux niveaux (correspondant normalement à deux années d'études), chacun des deux se composant des cours d'*Analyse de la langue*, d'*Etude pratique*, de *Séances pratiques en laboratoire* et d'un cours intitulé « *Explication de textes* » (première année) et « *Etude de textes contemporains* » (deuxième année). En dehors de ces cours, sont dispensées des U.V. de civilisation, dites aussi « désenclavées », ce dernier terme signifiant que leur acquisition n'est pas liée strictement à tel ou tel niveau, les étudiants pouvant les préparer au niveau qui correspond le mieux aux exigences de leur emploi du temps. Ces U.V. sont: *Connaissance de la Hongrie contemporaine*, *Histoire de la Hongrie* (deux cycles en alternance: histoire ancienne et moderne), *Arts hongrois*. Il existe encore deux U.V. de littérature: *Questions et textes de littérature moderne*, *Questions et textes de littérature ancienne*. Bien que désenclavées, ces U.V. nécessitent une bonne connaissance de la langue qu'il est difficile d'atteindre avant la troisième année.

Les élèves de l'I.N.L.C.O. peuvent couronner leur premier cycle par un des diplômes propres à l'Ecole (« non nationaux »³) qui suivent: 1) *Certificat de Langue et de Civilisation* (10 U.V.: 8 de langue et 2 de civilisation), 2) *Diplôme bilingue avec deux langues à égalité* (20 U.V.: 8 U.V. de langue hongroise, 8 U.V. d'une autre langue, par ex. finnois, 4 U.V. de civilisation), 3) *Diplôme bilingue avec majeure-mineure* (20 U.V.: 9 U.V. de langue choisie en majeur, par ex. le hongrois, 5 U.V. d'une autre langue: finnois ou estonien de préférence, ou polonais, roumain, russe, serbo-croate, slovène, tchèque, 2 U.V. de civilisation, 4 U.V. libres; dans le cas où le hongrois est choisi en mineure, ces proportions sont inversées), 4) *Diplôme unilingue* (20 U.V.: 12 U.V. de langue, 4 U.V. de civilisation, 4 U.V. libres).

2^{ème} cycle

Les étudiants de troisième année ont à acquérir les U.V. suivantes: *Etude descriptive et historique de la langue*, *Maniement de la langue et traduction*. *Etude pratique de la langue (labo)*, *Thème et version*, *Explication de textes*, plus une des U.V. de littérature déjà mentionnées.

Les U.V. de 4^{ème} niveau s'intitulent: *Linguistique finno-ougrienne, Explication de textes, Thème et version* (évidemment, quand plusieurs U.V. portent le même intitulé, il s'agit de cours de niveaux différents), *Travaux dirigés*.

A la fin du deuxième cycle, on peut obtenir les diplômes suivants:

Au sein de Paris III, — niveau licence — un *Certificat de Linguistique comparée des langues finno-ougriennes*, obtenu par l'association de deux U.V. de langues finno-ougriennes à caractère linguistique de 3^{ème} année et de l'U.V. de *Linguistique historique et comparative* dispensée à l'*Institut de Linguistique et Phonétique Générales et Appliquées* (19, rue des Bernardins, Paris 5⁰). Ce certificat entre comme option dans le cadre de la *Licence des Sciences du Langage*. Au niveau maîtrise, il existe un *Certificat de Linguistique comparée des langues finno-ougriennes*, constitué par 2 U.V. de langues finno-ougriennes à caractère linguistique de 4^{ème} année et une U.V. de 2^{ème} cycle.

« Aux étudiants qui désirent une reconnaissance de la qualification qu'ils ont acquise dans le domaine du finnois ou du hongrois après avoir obtenu des unités de valeur qu'ils n'utilisent pas dans le cadre d'un des diplômes nationaux existants (D.E.U.G. et licence) », 4 deux diplômes sont proposés: un *Brevet* (10 U.V. des deux premiers niveaux) et un *Diplôme* constitué par les U.V. de premier cycle et 6 U.V. de 3^{ème} niveau (2 U.V. de langue, 2 U.V. de littérature, 2 autres U.V. du cursus choisies librement, pour le finnois, on admet également une U.V. d'estonien).

Au terme du 2^{ème} cycle, l'I.N.L.C.O. délivre les diplômes suivants: 1) *Diplôme supérieur* (10 U.V.: 4 U.V. de langue, 2 U.V. de civilisation, 4 U.V. libres), 2) *Diplôme de recherche et d'études appliquées* = *D.R.E.A.* (10 U.V.: 1 mémoire comptant pour 8 U.V. — circa 120 pages — 2 U.V. au minimum, de second cycle, à déterminer avec l'enseignant responsable).

3^{ème} cycle

Les étudiants de l'I.N.L.C.O. titulaires du D.R.E.A. de hongrois peuvent s'inscrire en *Doctorat de troisième cycle* ou préparer un *Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies* en linguistique finno-ougrienne, mais pour ce faire, ils doivent obligatoirement entrer dans le cadre de Paris III. Ceux qui justifient des titres requis sont à même de préparer un *Doctorat d'Etat* sur un sujet concernant la langue et la civilisation hongroises.

Il va sans dire que parmi les 25 à 40 débutants qui se présentent chaque année au C.E.F.O., très peu arrivent à ce « sommet ». Suivre intégralement et sans retard le programme qu'on vient d'exposer exige de la part des candidats beaucoup de courage, d'assiduité et des dispositions exceptionnelles. Une U.V. ne représente actuellement qu'environ 38 heures de cours annuelles. C'est très peu. Et il n'y a pas de miracle en pédagogie. Dans la mesure où l'enseignement du hongrois est conçu pour être assimilable en première année par des débutants *absolus*, les résultats sont très variables suivant les sujets. De nombreux problèmes pédagogiques, humains, pour

ainsi dire déontologiques se posent aux enseignants, qui doivent réaliser en un temps relativement bref une certaine unité dans la diversité, une certaine cohérence à partir des éléments les plus hétérogènes.

Car, il faut bien le dire, on rencontre autant de niveaux et de motivations que d'étudiants dans chacun des groupes. Pris au hasard, voici quelques cas d'espèce: étudiant français ou d'une autre nationalité, peu apte à poursuivre des études supérieures, mais qui ressent une attirance particulière envers tout ce qui est hongrois pour des raisons sentimentales ou autres, — Français ayant un lien familial ou professionnel avec la Hongrie et/ou les Hongrois, — spécialiste en herbe ou déjà confirmé (historien, linguiste, géographe, musicien, bibliothécaire, etc.) qui cherche à comprendre avant tout le hongrois *écrit* pour avoir le plus rapidement accès aux sources relatives à sa spécialité, — candidat au « Concours des Affaires Etrangères », rêvant d'une carrière diplomatique, qui doit apprendre au moins une langue à extension limitée, comme le hongrois, — sujet d'origine hongroise désireux de retrouver — préoccupation particulièrement à la mode de nos jours — ses « racines », etc., etc. Il est impossible de procéder à une énumération exhaustive. N'oublions pas pourtant une catégorie aussi sympathique que respectable: celle des retraités qui cherchent à la Faculté avant tout un passe-temps et un milieu intellectuellement (en fin de compte même physiologiquement) stimulants. Tel ce professeur d'anglais en retraite qui collectionne les langues, comme d'autres les timbres ou les cartes postales... On commence à se demander très sérieusement s'il ne conviendrait pas d'instaurer à côté du Doctorat de 3^{ème} cycle, un Doctorat du 3^{ème} âge... — On peut aisément comprendre que cet enseignement, surtout en première année, ressemble peu à ce qu'on décrit traditionnellement par le qualificatif « universitaire ».

Les enseignants de hongrois ont ainsi deux tâches complémentaires à remplir: ne pas décevoir, ne pas décourager ceux qui ont des difficultés quasi-insurmontables et en même temps stimuler, faciliter, pousser au sommet la progression des plus doués. Car il y en a chaque année deux ou trois qui, à l'instar d'un Aurélien Sauvageot, d'un François Gachot, d'un Jean Perrot, d'un Roger Richard, d'un Jean-Luc Moreau, peut-être sous une forme plus modeste que les illustres personnages énumérés, contribueront un jour à développer de la manière la plus active la connaissance du domaine hongrois dans les milieux francophones.

Il serait injuste de terminer ce bref exposé sans mentionner les activités de recherche et de publication qui s'effectuent à Paris en rapport direct avec l'enseignement du hongrois. Je n'en signalerai que deux manifestations: 1. un *Séminaire de recherche* qui, sous la direction du Professeur Jean Perrot, se réunit depuis déjà plus de dix ans deux fois par mois pendant l'année scolaire, pour se consacrer à la description contrastive du français et du hongrois; 2. l'édition des *Etudes finno-ougriennes*, revue qui bénéficie d'une collaboration internationale, publiée par l'*Association pour le Développement des Etudes finno-ougriennes*, émanation directe du C.E.F.O. qui, animé par Jean Gergely,

organise par ailleurs rencontres et conférences sur des sujets divers concernant la langue et la culture des peuples finno-ougriens.

Notes

1. L'*Unité de valeur* [U.V.] est la matière d'un enseignement dispensé pendant l'année à raison de 1 h. 30 par semaine. Les U.V. sont indépendantes les unes des autres. On les obtient soit par contrôle continu (au moins trois examens « partiels » par an), soit par examen de fin d'année. Les diplômes sont définis par le nombre et l'intitulé des U.V. obligatoires, plus un certain nombre d'U.V. libres, laissées au choix des candidats.
2. Le D.E.U.G. est le diplôme terminal du premier cycle (2 ou 3 ans d'études) compte au moins 16 U.V.
3. En France, chaque établissement supérieur privé ou semi-privé a le droit de délivrer ses propres diplômes.
4. Extrait d'une Brochure de Renseignements distribuée aux étudiants.

Institut National des Langues et
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Lajos Nyéki

THE NEW MODERN PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY IN HUNGARY

Affiliated to the Hungarian Academy, the newly founded *Modern Filológiai Társaság* (Modern Philological Society) aims to promote research into the literature, linguistics, culture and history of modern languages. Its purpose is to further the exchange of information about recent achievements in these fields in and outside Hungary. The Society wishes to advance the teaching of foreign languages and also to arouse popular interest in the attainments of modern philology. It considers as one of its main tasks to study and translate into Hungarian outstanding works of foreign literature.

To achieve these ends the Society helps and organizes the activity of Hungarian modern philologists, sets up sections, holds meetings, readings, public lectures, organizes international conferences, holds competitions, offers prizes and maintains relations with societies and institutions working in related fields both in Hungary and abroad. It will aim to publish or take part in the publication of books, series, periodicals, and will reward outstanding achievements.

Filling a significant gap in Hungarian scholarly life, the Society is now forming a corporate body, establishing modern philological studies within an institutional framework.

At the statutory meeting in 1983 Professor László Dobossy, a distinguished specialist of French and Czech literature was appointed to the chairmanship, the honorary chairmen being Professors László Hadrovics, László Kardos, the late Jenő

Koltay-Kastner, László Ország^{*} and Lajos Tamás. Professors Előd Halász, József Herman, Mátyás Horányi, László Kéry, Tibor Klaniczay, Péter Nagy, Ferenc Papp and György Rába were elected to deputy chairmanships; Professor Tibor Frank was elected Secretary General.

Those abroad who support the aims of, and would like to take part in the work of the Society, can subscribe as corresponding members.

The *Modern Filológiai Társaság* of Hungary is based in Budapest and can be contacted through the Secretary General at Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem (Budapest, V. Pesti Barnabás utca 1. H-1052 Hungary).

Modern Filológiai Társaság, Budapest

Anikó Miski

JOHN LOTZ MEMORIAL SYMPOSIUM IN STOCKHOLM

In September 1983, a commemorative symposium was held at Stockholm University to honour the memory of János (John) Lotz, who had died ten years earlier in 1973 at the age of 60 years. Lotz came to Sweden from Hungary in the year 1935 to teach Hungarian at Stockholm University. In 1947 he went to America to be professor at Columbia University, New York, and he worked in America until his death in 1973, from 1967 in Washington, D. C. During his American years he upheld his contacts with his two earlier countries, Hungary and Sweden. He was a visiting professor both in Budapest and in Stockholm during this period.

The memorial symposium at Stockholm University was initiated and organized by Dr. Eva Martins, who was a pupil of Lotz and published her doctoral thesis on the language of Ferenc Kazinczy in 1970. She became Lotz's successor as *docent* of Hungarian at Stockholm University, and at the first international congress of Hungarology in Budapest in 1981 she received the John Lotz memorial medal, awarded then for the first time, as a sign of appreciation of her activities to spread knowledge of the language and culture of Hungary.

Ten lectures, followed by discussion, were given at the symposium, most of them by scholars who had been personal friends of John Lotz. The first was by Ferenc Kiefer, Budapest, and had the title *John Lotz and Hungarian Grammatical Research*. Kiefer pointed out that Lotz's studies in Budapest took place in a period, the early 1930's, when the influence of the neogrammarian school was still very strong. The history of language was considered the most important and almost the only important part of linguistic research. When Lotz came to Sweden in 1935, he met a linguistic atmosphere of much the same kind. He became one of those who introduced the new aspects on

^{*} See the obituaries in the present issue of Hungarian Studies, pp. 291—296.

linguistic science represented e.g. by the Prague school. His Hungarian grammar *Das ungarische Sprachsystem*, published in Stockholm in 1939, was a pioneer work in Hungarian linguistics with its exclusive emphasis on synchronical description. But in Hungary his points of view did not make much impression until the 1960's, when he developed more intimate relations with the linguists of Hungary. Nowadays he is generally acknowledged in Hungary as a pioneer of Hungarian grammatical research.

The second lecture was given by Östen Dahl, Stockholm, and had the title *Notes on Aspect, Case, and Transitivity*. It dealt with the system for object marking in Finnish, which shows some points of similarity with Russian and some other Slavic languages. In Finnish, aspect is an important factor in the choice of case form for the object. Dahl referred to some earlier papers written by himself or in collaboration with Fred Karlsson, and also to an article by Hopper and Thompson on *Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse*.

Hans Karlgren, Stockholm, gave a lecture with the title *To Make Intellectual Demands on the School*. His starting-point was the demands on stringency and precision that John Lotz made on all kinds of scientific representation and also on textbooks for the schools. An illogical or muddled way of presenting the facts in a schoolbook is also unpedagogical. Karlgren gave some instances of Lotz's criticism of Swedish schoolbooks on grammar. Lotz had found that the current textbooks on Swedish grammar were to a great extent obsolete and illogical, and Karlgren now examined some of the books used in the Swedish schools of our days in order to find out if they had improved since Lotz's activities in Sweden in the 1930's and 1940's. The result of the scrutiny was however disheartening. On the whole, the present textbooks on grammar were found to be as obsolete and illogical as before. Karlgren's conclusion was that it is high time to make intellectual demands on the school and abandon the present sloppiness in the presentation of grammar to pupils.

The title of the lecture given by Claes-Christian Elert, Umeå, was *The Geometrical Metaphor. Pictures and Diagrams in Linguistics*. He pointed out that Lotz had been a pioneer in the use of graphs of various kinds to illustrate linguistic relationships and linguistic theories. Lotz had a highly developed visual sense, which found great satisfaction in expressing with a few lines relationships that would take much space to explain verbally. The lecturer gave a survey of different kinds of graphical representations commonly used nowadays in linguistic literature. In many of these cases Lotz was a pioneer, who used these kinds of illustrations at a time when they were not, by far, as common as they have since become. Special attention was directed to Lotz's work *The Structure of the Sonetti a corona of Attila József*, published in 1965 as No. 1 of the series *Studia Hungarica Stockholmiensia*.

During his whole life as active linguist Lotz had a deep-rooted interest in metrics, and Lars-Gunnar Hallander, Stockholm, gave a description of his activities in this field in his lecture entitled *A Bird's-Eye View of Metrics*. Of great importance in this respect

was the cooperation with Roman Jakobson which Lotz began when Jakobson lived in Sweden during the war. Lotz had wide perspectives and saw poetry with a "bird's-eye view" as an intercultural phenomenon. He was very interested in trying to find a general typology comprehensive enough to cover as completely as possible all metrical systems.

Eva Martins gave a lecture *On Graphic Interference*, which dealt with the problems that may be caused by the graphic identity of words belonging to different languages, although they have nothing else to do with each other. Some examples of this kind of interference between English and Hungarian are the Hungarian words *hat* 'six', *hall* 'hear', *rest* 'lazy', which are also English written words with completely different meanings.

Erling Wande, Uppsala, gave a lecture on *Contrastive Aspects of Swedish and Finnish*, in which he discussed the question whether Finnish is more difficult to learn than Swedish (and other Germanic languages), which seems to be a rather widely spread popular opinion, based mainly on the synthetic character of Finnish morphology as opposed to the analytical character of Swedish. The most common argument is the great number of cases in Finnish. Those who maintain that Finnish is not particularly difficult generally point to the correspondence between the Finnish case endings and the Swedish prepositions, meaning that one is not more difficult to learn than the other. Wande's lecture discussed several modern investigations of a psycholinguistic character dealing with this and similar problems. He showed that the relationship between the case system of Finnish and the prepositional system of Swedish, and in general between different kinds of linguistic structure from the learner's point of view, is really much more complicated than is usually supposed.

The lecture of Tryggve Sköld, Umeå, dealt with *The Finnish Word for 'ten', kymmenen, its Origin and Place in the Fenno-Ugric Numerical System*. He gave an account of the etymologies proposed earlier for the Finnish word *kymmenen* and also of the numerical systems found in various Fenno-Ugric languages. His own answer to the question was that the Finnish word may be a Proto-Fenno-Ugric loanword from an Indo-European language, most probably an old form of Indo-Iranian where the palatal *k* had not yet become a fricative sound. The Indo-European word that he had in mind was the one represented e.g. by Latin *decem*, where the first syllable may have disappeared in Fenno-Ugric.

Bo Wickman, Uppsala, gave some glimpses from the older history of Fenno-Ugric linguistics, mainly with reference to the question whether the Hungarians János Sajnovics and Sámuel Gyarmathi active towards the end of the 18th century can justly be regarded founders of comparative linguistics. This question was answered positively, mainly on the basis of the great importance these scholars attached to the comparison of grammatical forms. Some earlier achievements in the field of Fenno-Ugric comparison by Swedish scholars were also mentioned.

The last lecture of the symposium was given by Robert Austerlitz, New York, and dealt with the activities of John Lotz in the United States during the period from 1947 to his death in 1973, first in New York and then in Washington, D. C. In those days Lotz had more or less intimate contacts with most of the prominent linguists in America, and Austerlitz's lecture gave an interesting survey of the various trends in American linguistics of that time.

These lectures have been published as a volume 4, (entitled as *Symposium in memoriam János Lotz (1913—1973)*, edited by Bo Wickman) in the series *Studia Hungarica Stockholmiensia*. The symposium was held in Swedish, but some of the authors have sent in their manuscripts in English, and the lectures in Swedish have been provided with English summaries.

Uppsala Universitet,
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Bo Wickman

TO THE MEMORY OF LÁSZLÓ ORSZÁGH

Professor László Országh who died on Jan. 27th, 1984, in his seventy-seventh year (born in Szombathely 1907) will be remembered by most people as the editor of a number of English–Hungarian and Hungarian–English dictionaries. Meeting a constant demand, these volumes have become useful, and for a great number of people simply indispensable tools always to be kept within hand-reach. Their well-deserved, spectacular success, easily measurable by the number of copies sold, is nevertheless somewhat harmful to László Országh's reputation, as it brings into focus only one, and not necessarily the most important, of his scholarly activities, overshadowing his manifold achievements in other fields, or even in the field of lexicography. While his bilingual dictionaries are duly appreciated, less than adequate attention is given to the unilingual *A Magyar Nyelv Értelmező Szótára* (Explanatory Dictionary of the Hungarian Language, 7 volumes, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959—1962) a great feat of lexicography, bearing the hall-mark of the erudition and managerial genius he displayed in his capacity as general editor. In addition to his practical work in this field, he also wrote a series of longer and shorter important articles on theoretical, historical, methodological and technical questions related to dictionaries and dictionary-making.

But his contribution to lexicography can claim no priority over the rest of his oeuvre. Not even chronological priority. Long before his first English–Hungarian dictionary appeared in 1948, he had made his name as a research scholar, critic, teacher and writer of textbooks, never restricting his activity to a single field. The very first items on his list of publications,* five book reviews dating from 1929, a time when he was still an

*("The Publications of L. Országh (1929—1977)" in *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok — Hungarian Studies in English* vol. XI. (1977), pp. 231—239. So far the most complete.)

undergraduate, are a testimony to his exceptional professional versatility and competence. A review of a book on contemporary American poetry (1931) deserves special mention, as it was not just an excursion into a field he had not explored before, but the first fruit of what turned out to be a lifelong interest in American studies. His first critical essay published in 1934, was written on an American author, Sinclair Lewis, and still more important was the choice of subject for his PhD thesis, *Az amerikai irodalomtörténetírás fejlődése* (The Development of American Literary History Writing) (1935), a pioneer work. That American studies have come into their own in Hungary is largely due to his contribution both in writing and in the form of professional guidance and encouragement given to a number of scholars.

His American orientation did not mean that he turned away from British English studies; on the contrary, his writings dating from the 30s and 40s show that his interest in that field was constant, and that its range was actually becoming wider. Articles and essays on contemporary English lyrical poetry, Aldous Huxley, Charles Morgan, etc. would seem to suggest a predilection for modern literature, but it was precisely during these pre-war and war years that he brought out *Az angol regény eredete* (The Rise of the English Novel), compiled a handy *Bevezetés az angol nyelv- és irodalomtudomány bibliográfiájába* (Introduction to the Bibliography of English Linguistics and Literary History), and wrote a miniature monograph on Shakespeare, a prodigy of conciseness, containing a mass of information and highly original critical comment quite amazing for a slender, pocket-size book.

He was as absolutely reliable where factual knowledge was needed, as he was absolutely personal, almost idiosyncratic where values had to be judged, and he combined these qualities in such a happy mixture that he could avoid both the excesses of a sterile kind of positivism still practised at the time, and the uncontrollable flights of an equally or even more fashionable aesthetic subjectivism. It should be also noted that he did not borrow concepts and methods from the then everywhere popular German *Geistesgeschichte* school, but viewed literature sociologically and socio-historically, in a larger context of taste or culture, or, more generally speaking, civilization. This is evident from titles like *A gentleman alkonya* (The Decline of the Gentleman Ideal) (1937), *Negyven millió olvasó* (Forty Million Readers) (1938), *A társadalmi osztályok és eszményeik hatása az angol regény kialakulására* (Some Notes on the Influence of Social Classes and their Ideals on the Rise of the English Novel) (1944), or that of one of his first post-war publications *Irodalom a rókalyukban. Mit olvastak az amerikai katonák* (Literature in the Foxhole: What the G.I's read) (1946).

An overall survey of his works shows that he was keenly sensitive to what was modern in the way of topics and methods in his branch of learning, and at the same time knew well that there were traditions worth upholding. One such tradition, handed down by some of his pioneering Hungarian forerunners was the study of contacts between Hungary and the English-speaking world; and he was aware that though all

parties concerned could profit from the results, the task of doing the actual work fell to Hungarian scholars. His own contribution, including such essays as one on James Bogdani (Jakab Bogdány), court painter to King William III and Queen Anne, and another on some 19th century Hungarian travellers in England shows that also when looking for contacts he explored cultural spheres beyond those of the respective languages and literatures.

The written work he left behind, impressive in quality and quantity, is a worthy memorial to his scholarly abilities and erudition, but it constitutes only one part of his achievement. What the printed page cannot preserve, or at the very best preserves in a distorted and fragmentary form, is the impact of the personality, something not to be ignored in the case of a man who spent practically all his life in the teaching profession, a profession calling for a charismatic personality. Beginning his teaching career at a Budapest grammar school, he was soon invited to lecture at the English Department of Budapest University, became a resident tutor at Eötvös College, and finally, in 1947, was appointed professor and head of the English Department in the University of Debrecen.

His tutorship at Eötvös College, a place where he himself had been trained, should be regarded as particularly significant, arguably the most significant of his teaching posts, not only for the subjective reason that it meant to him something like a homecoming, but chiefly because the College provided an inspiring, congenial environment and conditions ideally suited to his character and turn of mind. The number of those he taught there, during a period shorter than his term of professorship in Debrecen, was, no doubt, very small, almost negligible in comparison with that of the students who attended his various lectures and classes at the two universities mentioned. The groups he had for tutorials at Eötvös College generally consisted of no more than three or four persons each, and it happened once that for a whole academic year he had a "group" of only one freshman. A tutorial class as he conducted it under such circumstances, had the intimate atmosphere of a small workshop, with all participants, teacher and pupils, working in a spirit of co-operation, and mutual confidence, moreover, mutual respect, without feeling it necessary to reconcile conflicting opinions and to reach a consensus. He himself never forced his view on others, but by stating and arguing his point with utmost clarity, and patiently listening to other people's opinions, he set an example. As a truly great teacher, he transmitted a great deal of useful knowledge not only within the sphere of what could be defined, strictly and professionally speaking, as his "subject".

There was something paradoxical in the irresistible influence he exerted in or outside the classroom. He was by no means a fraternizing type of teacher courting popularity. In fact, he was reserved, almost aloof, yet never indifferent to other people's concerns, and on occasion he could and did interfere in their affairs, but thanks to his rare ability to do things tactfully and unostentatiously, what he gave in the way of help, advice, or

even criticism, never offended the human dignity of anyone. By nature he was solitary rather than gregarious; nevertheless, he mixed in society with the ease of a perfectly civil and civilized person, a species regrettably decreasing in number nowadays. Without doing or saying anything particular, he made his presence inevitably felt, simply by being there. He appeared seldom in public after retiring from his chair in Debrecen, but it was reassuring to know that, though not visibly present, he was in a way still *there*, working hard in his “pensive citadel” with unflagging interest and energy, even in the last few years when he was mortally ill, stoically facing the approach of death.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,
Angol Tanszék, Budapest

Kálmán G. Ruttkay

LÁSZLÓ ORSZÁGH: A PERSONAL MEMOIR

I had known László Országh for more than half a century. He had been my teacher though I never learned anything from him. His first job was to teach English in my high-school—the *Érseki Katolikus Reálgimnázium*, known also as the *Rákócziánium*—where that language was a compulsory subject in the last four years of an eight-year curriculum. It so happened that I never attended classes. By a special arrangement (*magántanuló*) I had to present myself once a year for a comprehensive, thus rather difficult, examination, but I was dispensed from school attendance. In the last year of high school, with the dreaded final examination, the *érettségi*, approaching, Országh sent me word to the effect that if I continued with my former practice, I might be faced with difficulties. I ignored the warning with its ominous undertones. Yet in the course of the examination there was no resentment in Országh’s attitude towards me. He examined and judged me with perfect objectivity and gave me the grade “2” which at that time—translated—meant “good”. I do not think I deserved any better.

Following our graduation banquet, a nice black-tie affair, Országh (who was but nine years our senior) joined some of us in eating the traditional bean soup served in the small-hours in some restaurants of Budapest. We happened to sit side by side and he asked what I intended to do now, with my secondary education behind me. I told him that I wanted to become an orientalist. “Ah”—said he—“in the Eötvös Kollégium I had known one man with the same ambition. First he went nuts, then he killed himself. An interesting case.” We gazed at each other over the bean soup in the dusky dawn, Országh erect, as always somewhat aloof. “I hope you’ll make it: Lajos Ligeti seems to have succeeded” he concluded. This was the first time I heard mentioned the name of the young professor who, a few months later, started on the thankless task of teaching me at the university.

My next encounter with Országh was in the summer of 1956 when I bumped into him in the corridor of the *Nyelvtudományi Intézet* in Budapest. He recognized me, remembered our conversation over the bean soup and asked what had become of me. He was carefully dressed, with a type of hat not much in favor at that time, and greeted people with the amazingly obsolete "*van szerencsém*". For some years prior to that time English studies had been frowned upon in Hungary and Országh devoted his splendid talent as a lexicographer to the monumental task of editing the big Hungarian-Hungarian dictionary, the *Magyar Értelmező Szótár*. He must have suffered immensely in the course of the previous, unpleasant years and, quite clearly, handled me with great caution. By the time we next met, in the Fall of 1963, his reserve had evaporated.

To my, and his own, surprise, he turned up in Bloomington, Indiana, with—if I remember correctly—a Ford Fellowship. He stayed at Indiana University for a certain period and amazed everyone with the vastness of his knowledge and his superb command of English. I remember an evening in the home of Professor Cady—a respected expert of American literature—where he displayed his mastery of the subject in a modest, almost casual way. At that time, in 1963, my colleagues at Indiana University were not used to receiving scholars working "behind the Iron Curtain", and could scarcely believe that an expert in American literature of Országh's caliber might exist in those regions. I think it is safe to say, that Országh had little sympathy for the Hungarian political system of the first half of the 1950s. Yet, even when provoked, he did not allow himself to be drawn into any political discussion, he did not criticize, he never complained, not even to me. By then both of us were in a period of our lives when the age barrier no longer existed; two middle-aged men who were exchanging views on a great variety of subjects.

I had just built a solitary house in the woods which he and I walked together. He loved the place, and his familiarity with nature was a cause of constant surprise to me. Trees, flowers, ferns, animals, rocks—he recognized them all and gave their names in English, Hungarian, and Latin. He also impressed me with his deep understanding of American life. Before World War II, Országh applied for, and received a fellowship which took him to Florida. This stay in the United States left an indelible mark on Országh. He acquired a feel for what America really is, an understanding of how the system works. I have never met any Hungarian with a similar grasp of American culture—in the widest sense of this term.

From then on, and for many years, we kept in touch. He asked me to help his students to come to America, and as a result of our joint efforts, a number of young Hungarian graduate and post-graduate students could spend a year or two at Indiana University, teaching Hungarian and acquiring direct experience of American life. In the Summer of 1983, during some negotiations between my own and Debrecen

University, I noted with pleasure that on the opposite side of the table I could count three young scholars who had some training in Bloomington.

Országh was a bachelor, not particularly friendly or outgoing, and his cool detachment led some to believe that he knew little of what happened in Hungarian society beyond his own circle. This was not so. Országh was something of a gossip, with an astounding knowledge of trivia about almost any one in Hungary. I once asked him in a letter whether he could give me some information about a certain Mr. X, a not particularly famous person. Országh was in California with no means of obtaining information concerning the gentleman. Yet Országh's reply was immediate and began with the sentence "I don't know Mr. X". This curt statement was followed, by a detailed, witty description of Mr. X's public and private life, with thumb-nail sketches of the background of the wives he had, why and how he divorced, and numerous data on his family, habits, jobs he held, etc. Every time Országh recommended someone, or when I asked him about a student, he always provided information on the background, family, etc. of the person in question. Although verbally he could make rather devastating remarks, his immense good will towards the younger generation shone through all his letters. Perhaps sometime, after I have followed Országh where he has now gone, some students will write a short notice on our correspondence.

After his retirement our contacts became less frequent. Often, when I was in Budapest, we failed to meet either because of my busy schedule or his poor health. I think he was slightly hypocondriac. Usually he invited me for lunch in the Berlin restaurant, not far from his home, where he paid, what I thought, undue attention not only to his own but also to my diet. He handled these luncheons with elegance and—I hope—enjoyed them as much as I did. We used to talk about the Budapest of our youth, about trivia such as whether the lovely stationery shop was called Rigler or Riegler. He sent me his article on some English words in Hungarian with the remark that it constituted his scholarly swan-song.

He died in the year in which my old class celebrated the 50th anniversary of their graduation. We missed him at that reunion and many of us had many stories to tell about him.

Országh played a close hand, but he played it straight and well. I respected and liked that man.

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Denis Sinor

ON THE HUNGARIAN FOLK MUSEUM IN PASSAIC (N. J.)

The Hungarian Folk Museum first opened in February, 1981. Its founding and maintaining body is the *American Hungarian Folklore Centrum* (AHFC), established in 1978 for the organized preservation and dissemination of Hungarian folk culture. The chief activities of the AHFC are the organization of folk dance courses, festivals and the creation of a forum for the presentation of Hungarian ethnic related culture in the United States.

The *Hungarian Folk Museum* is housed in the old rectory building of St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church in Passaic, built in 1903. The area has been an important industrial center since the second half of the nineteenth century. The silk and textile industries, in particular, have attracted Ukranian, Slovak, Polish and Hungarian immigrants in great numbers. Of the approximately 70,000 Hungarians living in New Jersey about 15,000 reside in this region.

In spite of the fact that the Hungarians of the area can, in a physical sense, be less and less characterized as a cohesively functioning community, the religious and social organizations, founded by Hungarian groups that settled in various waves, still play a significant role in uniting the life of Hungarians living in clusters across Northern New Jersey.

The *Hungarian Citizens' Club* and *Hungarian Scout Home* in Garfield; a *Hungarian Saturday School* in Passaic; two churches, one Roman Catholic, one Reformed; and a Dance Group, separately and collectively, provide a continuing basis for keeping Hungarian ethnic life active. A wide variety of activities are undertaken: formal dances at Carneval time, Easter egg making and Easter Monday Watering of the girls, church services in Hungarian, religious processions, film and cultural programs, picnics, to name a few.

Multi-ethnicity is a typical feature of American society. Familiarity with, respect for and harmonization of the various component cultures are its essential features. The fostering and diffusion of American-Hungarian history and living culture have become the chief goals of the *Hungarian Folk Museum*. So far, its exhibits have included authentic Hungarian material folk art, such as potteries, embroideries, furniture and household items on one hand, and documentation of the local community's history and works of local folk artists, on the other.

Among the functions of the *Hungarian Folk Museum* are the stimulation of local Hungarian life with its own special means and the expansion of the interested public's knowledge about Hungarian culture. The method and selection of programs to achieve these ends were analyzed and summarized in a "Self Study Planning", supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. In accordance with the results of the study, the Museum regularly presents lectures, courses, workshops in various areas of Hungarian folk culture.

Membership in the Hungarian Folk Museum and the Folklore Centrum totals about five hundred. It publishes "*Karikázó*" *Folklore Newsletter*, issued four times a year in English. (Last issue published is Vol. XI. No. 2—3, October 1985 — January 1986.)

Under the aegis of the AHFC, the *Hungarian Folk Museum* has established an active and fruitful relationship with other cultural organizations on the county, state and federal levels. It is a member of the *Association of Passaic County Museums* and the *Museum Council of New Jersey*. The National Endowment for the Arts, National Endowment for the Humanities, the Library of Congress and Smithsonian Institution are aware of its activities.

The tasks of the *Hungarian Folk Museum* are carried out by a small, dedicated and knowledgeable staff that has been and will continue to be an essential component of its successful activities.

The *Hungarian Folk Museum's* major production during the 1982–1983 season was an embroidery exhibit entitled "Old Traditions in the New World", partially funded by the National Endowment for the Arts. A course and an English language publication on Hungarian embroidery completed this program.

Between April and December 1983, the Museum presented a travel exhibition in six Passaic County libraries and was responsible for assembling an exhibition which was presented for six months at the New Jersey State Museum in Trenton. Through it, thousands made contact with the culture of New Jersey Hungarians and learned about the existence of the Hungarian Folk Museum. The exhibition at the New Jersey State Museum was accompanied by a series of programs, lectures, demonstrations and performances featuring the history, folk music, dance, art and customs of Hungarians.

From October 9, 1983, the *Hungarian Folk Museum* presented a new exhibition, featuring the artistic life work of Joseph Domjan, woodcut artist and Evelyn Domjan, whose scope of creativity extends into several media.

On May 1, 1985, in a general meeting, a new Board of Directors was formed, which is hoped to participate actively in matters concerning the Museum. The immediate tasks at hand are to obtain incorporated, non-profit status and to purchase of a building for the museum.

The American-Hungarian Folklore Centrum is located at 217 Third Street, Passaic, New Jersey 07055. Tel.: (201)473-0013 or 836-4869.

REVIEWS

A magyar irodalom története
(History of Hungarian Literature). Edited by Tibor Klaniczay
Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1982. 487 pp. 95,— Ft

Hungarian literary histories of a comprehensive character were first prepared in the last century. In the first part of our century a development in this field was brought about by the work of a few, solitary scholars such as Jenő Pintér, Antal Szerb and Géza Féja. In the post-war period the works written by a single author were replaced by collective works, literary histories of three (1957–1967) and of six volumes (1964–1966), respectively.

As a result of these works, the tradition of comprehensive analysis of the national literature was born in Hungary. Few similar undertakings can be found in other countries. This tradition exerts a significant influence not only on Hungarian literary research and on Hungarian readers but also on those living in foreign countries. The voluminous, summarizing works published after the war made it possible for smaller literary histories to appear, written primarily for foreigners. The first book of this kind was that of Tibor Klaniczay, József Szauder and Miklós Szabolcsi entitled *Kis magyar irodalomtörténet* (Small Hungarian Literary History, 1961), later published in six foreign languages: French (1962), Russian (1962), German (1963), English (1964), Polish (1966) and Bulgarian (1975). Another comprehensive work of this kind, larger than its predecessor, was first published in German (*Handbuch der ungarischen Literatur*, 1977), and later in French (*Histoire de la littérature hongroise des origines à nos jours*, 1980). It is now available in an enlarged edition published in Hungarian.

The authors of the here reviewed (History of Hungarian Literature) are: István Nemeskürty (to the end of the 18th century), László Orosz (to the middle of the 19th century), Béla G. Németh (to the end of the 19th century), Attila Tamás (20th century), András Görömbei (Hungarian literature outside the borders of the country), and Ildikó Tódor (bibliography). The editor-in-chief of the book is Tibor Klaniczay. The members of this team belong to the middle and younger generation of excellent experts of Hungarian literary history, and are scholars with experience in the preparation of collective works of a comprehensive character.

In the handbook Hungarian literature is divided into ten periods: the Middle Ages (until the beginning of the 16th century), the Renaissance (from the middle of the 15th century to the beginning of the 17th century), Baroque (from the beginning of the 17th century to the middle of the 18th century), the Age of Enlightenment and Classicism (the decades of the turn of the 19th century), Romanticism of the Age of Reforms (the first part of the 19th century), the Age of Popularism (the middle of the 19th century), the Age of Realism (the last thirty years of the 19th century), the Age of the *Nyugat* (the first twenty years of the 20th century), the Age of modern artistic trends and of the victory of the ideas of socialism (between the two World Wars), and contemporary literature—that of most recent times.

The apportionment of space given to any one period is quite interesting. Old Hungarian literature and the Age of Enlightenment and Classicism are discussed on approximately 110 pages; about 125 pages are devoted to the 19th century; and our century was allotted about 160 pages. The number of pages are inversely proportionate to the length of time and to the quantity of the literary materials of the individual periods. This kind of approach to literature may be observed today in several countries. It serves primarily to satisfy the interest and requirements of the reader for an increasingly detailed picture of contemporary literature.

The chronological division of the handbook corresponds to the great ages of European culture and literature. This makes it easier for Hungarian literature (which has been pushed into a somewhat isolated situation, mainly by the isolated position of the Hungarian language in Europe) to come closer to the other national literatures of Europe. This isolation may, by the way, be felt most clearly in the 20th century. But in this case, on account of the lack of the necessary perspectives in time, we are not yet able to properly grasp the dominant tendencies.

The discussion of literary phenomena of each age is preceded by a short introduction which presents the reader with historical and cultural roots—the background as well as the elements of literary life. These introductions which discuss the events from the European point of view provide the foreign reader with the necessary knowledge of Hungarian events. In addition, they furnish explanation of the development of literary trends. The literary material itself is divided up on the basis of a diversity of viewpoints.

Separate chapters have been devoted to the discussion of the most outstanding Hungarian writers, to wit: Bálint Balassi, Miklós Zrínyi, Mihály Vitéz Csokonai, Dániel Berzsenyi, Mihály Vörösmarty, Sándor Petőfi, János Arany, Mór Jókai, Imre Madách, Kálmán Mikszáth, Endre Ady, Zsigmond Móricz, Mihály Babits, Dezső Kosztolányi, Attila József, Miklós Radnóti, László Németh, Gyula Illyés and Tibor Déry. These portraits, of the most outstanding figures, present the life and works of the Hungarian classical authors best known outside Hungary, or perhaps of those who have done most to be placed among them.

In addition to the presentation of individual authors, much attention has been paid to literary genres. It is thanks to this that the readers can trace the development of the novel, beginning with its initial verse and prose forms created in the Age of Enlightenment, through its real birth in the first era of Romanticism and through its evolution towards Realism, up to the flourishing of the short story at the end of the last century. In a similar manner, though not in so much detail, the development of the drama and poetry is analyzed within the individual periods. Within these large genres which are present in several ages, other genres, specific to only the era, as for example, the genre of the Baroque memoir, are discussed and analyzed.

The book also introduces the literary works belonging to the individual literary trends, beginning with early Renaissance humanist writings in Latin and late Renaissance mannerism in Hungarian up to the avantgarde between the two World Wars. Finally, special mention should be made of the chapters classified according to other criteria, for example, the literature of the Middle Ages in Hungarian and Latin, Baroque court poetry and the popular as well as religious literature of the Baroque Age. Only the introduction of the era following World War II differs from the ages presented on the basis of the above-mentioned principles. It is presented only through its most important representatives. This is the way the most recent, contemporary literature is generally discussed since the necessary perspectives are lacking. In summary it may be stated that the different parts give proper emphasis to the characteristics of each age and era. The separate chapters within the individual ages and eras are also based on similar principles of composition.

In this work the authors and materials are selected according to the concept and volume of the work in question. Bearing this in mind, no essential discrepancies can be discovered in the book. Two aspects of this work must be singled out for praise because they have enriched the contents of the work beyond our expectations. They concern the treatment of written materials intended as literature from the Baroque to the present day—from elementary reflections upon literary history, through the development of major literary historical works and the growing significance of the genre of literary criticism, to the birth of the literary essay and meditations on literary theory. These are fields in which Hungarian literary sciences has achieved significant results, some of which are well-known and properly appreciated outside of Hungary. A valuable supplement to the history of contemporary Hungarian literature is the chapter devoted to literary activities outside the borders of Hungary. This subject is treated for the first time in the present, Hungarian edition of this work, making readers acquainted with writers living in Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Yugoslavia, where a significant number of Hungarians live. It is regrettable that Hungarian writers living in other countries have not been included in the book.

The handbook, as was its intention, presents Hungarian literature primarily to foreigners. Its various merits show that it may be extremely useful for foreign readers. The book contains well-chosen, basic information about individual writers and their works. There is a well-struck balance among the different parts, those offering introduction and information, and those furnishing interpretation, and this makes the book worthwhile reading. It contains the newest results of Hungarian literary science, as well as the most recent achievements of research in literary history (facts) and literary theory (methodological approaches). The work also contains quotations which make it possible to establish direct contact with literary reality. Those who wish to know Hungarian literature better receive great assistance from the parallels, analogies and real connections drawn in the book between Hungarian literature on the one hand and foreign literary works, on the other.

The work ends with a valuable bibliography containing the following: bibliographies, biographical dictionaries and literary encyclopaedias, works of literary history containing summaries of Hungarian literary works, literary anthologies, basic works on literary history (discussing the individual eras and trends, literary genres, literary language, stylistics, prosody and translation, history of books, libraries, printing and press, connections of Hungarian literature with other literatures, the works of the most outstanding researchers from the post-war era) and works on the most important writers. In the bibliography a significant place has been allotted to publications in foreign languages as well as to writing published abroad. These show the vivid interest with which Hungarian literature is followed outside the country, especially today. Another supplement contains portraits of about forty Hungarian writers.

Taking several viewpoints into account, the synthesis of literary history presented here well deserves to be known abroad. At present it is available in three languages. It is hoped that it will also appear soon in other languages.

Uniwersytet Warszawski,
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Jan Ślaski

Görömbei, András
A csehszlovákiai magyar irodalom 1945–1980
(Czechoslovakian Hungarian literature 1945–1980)

Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982. 444 pp.
(Irodalomtörténeti Könyvtár, vol. 37.) 74,— Ft

Czechoslovak Hungarian literature* (i.e. Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia) as a phenomenon and concept has existed since 1918. Although the phrase might seem to speak for itself, some explanation might not be entirely out of place.

In accordance with the most widely spread model existing to common knowledge, a given national literature corresponds to the literature of a given country. This, however, occurs less frequently in its purest form than one might believe. Looking at the map of Europe, it is immediately apparent that over the ocean from Portuguese literature we find Brazilian literature, the language of which is also Portuguese, but which is otherwise completely different; literatures in the Spanish language flourish outside Spain across the whole of Latin America; literature in English is not only cultivated in England, but also in the USA, Canada, and Australia; people write in German not only in the two Germanies but also in Austria and Switzerland, etc. And this creates a diversity of overlapping areas and continuous possibilities of transition—one needs only

*Throughout in the review we keep this word-by-word translation of the Hungarian book title. For an explanation see the full text of the review. (Editorial remark.)

consider the American—English T. S. Eliot. Language, as we know, is not the only significant factor here, but it does play a decisive role in many ways. To take the point a stage further, in Switzerland there are at least three literatures, none of which can properly be called a minority literature. Czechoslovakian Hungarian literature, on the other hand, definitely is a minority literature.

Naturally, minority literatures are also diverse. As no two leaves on the same tree are ever exactly alike, no two individual literary works, nor two distinct minority literatures can ever be considered entirely analogous, or to stem from the same situation. It would be futile to try comparing Canadian French literature to Belgian French Literature, Finnish Swedish to Czechoslovakian Polish Literature, and among all these Romanian, Yugoslavian and Ruthenian Hungarian to Czechoslovakian Hungarian (this itself being a complex formula as only in Slovakia do Hungarians live in numbers amounting to several hundred thousand and this literature is called Czechoslovakian not only “for the purposes of order” but also on account of its significant Czech affinities, extensions and fragments). Thus this current study—while, like any scientific work, abounding in propositions open to generalisation—constitutes a moment of the research of the unrepeatable, which only occasionally, and for good reason, resorts to the formulation of typological overviews.

This is not the first work of a comprehensive nature to have been produced concerning the subject under present discussion. Even if we choose to neglect certain older studies, mention must certainly be made (and Görömbei does so) of Lajos Turczel's fundamental work *Két kor mezsgyéjén* (On the Border of Two Ages) which offers more than a specifically literature survey of the conditions and problems of the development of Czechoslovakian Hungarian literature between the two World Wars. Several volumes of studies by Sándor Csanda also point to a process of synthesis such as, *Az első nemzedék* (The first generation, Bratislava, 1968), which, in Görömbei's view, as a separate gain, “makes up for the lack of a Czechoslovakian Hungarian Literary encyclopaedia”. Czechoslovakian Hungarian literature has never been lacking in self-contemplation on the contrary, there has perhaps been too much of it: the works of Edgár Balogh, László Dobossy, László Sziklay, Rezső Szalatnai and László Sándor in this area cannot be overlooked. And it must be added here that soon after the publication of Görömbei's book another publication appeared, also comprehensive in character, the title of which also indicates its claims to a summarizing, if not synthesizing, approach: *Madarská literatura v Československu* (Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia, Bratislava, 1983). In actual fact this is also a self-contemplation since it mostly contains the selected studies of Slovakian Hungarian authors and at the time of writing, must be considered a novelty. This volume also mainly concentrates on the period after 1948.

After all this it may be stated that it was the pen of András Görömbei, an excellent literary historian from Debrecen, that produced the first predominantly literary summary of the material.

Görömbei divides his material into three basic chapters, each more extensive than the last. The subject of the first chapter is “antecedents, and history”, that of the second is “the start”, and that of the third is “development”. We assume that it is primarily the first chapter that will attract interest beyond the attention of specialists in the field concerned. It is here that Görömbei, with a completeness seldom encountered, sets forth his basic postulations, and foremost among them the following: “It is a common basic feature of minority-national literatures that, through their language, culture, older historical traditions and partly through their emotional links, they are connected to the Hungarian national consciousness and culture, while the state, financial and partly cultural framework of their existence is defined by their country, the state they live in” (p. 5.). Using a term that has become general in our age, Görömbei calls this phenomenon “dual linkage” (*kettős kötődés*); in the foreword of the volume of studies in Slovak mentioned above (the authors of which are Karol Rosenbaum and Rudolf Chmel), we find the expression “dual patriotism” (*dvojité vlastenectvo*), and this is important in indicating the proximity of the viewpoints as regards the main question, and eliminates all unnecessary misunderstandings concerning details of lesser significance. But in Görömbei's introductory chapter we also find other concepts of key importance, which are almost inseparable today from the concept of Czechoslovakian Hungarian literature, even if at times they are the sites of debate and discussion. These include “the bridge role”, the mission to mediate between Czech and

Slovak culture on the one hand and Hungarian literature in Hungary on the other; and also "*vox humana*", the general human over-view of the community in minority in relation to its nationality grievances. *Vox humana* is mentioned, and not without due cause, with reference to Zoltán Fábry, since with him humanism was a "genre" just like anti-fascism; but the term in its general usage in all probability dates back to ancient times, and it is the task of philologists to reveal how it took root in Czechoslovakian Hungarian literature. (Volumes with the title "*vox humana*" were published by Sándor Márai in 1921 and by Dezső Győry in 1940). Furthermore, there can be no essential differences in opinion concerning the following proposition: the bourgeois democratic state of affairs in Czechoslovakia between the two World Wars represented a more progressive, more bearable system than that of Hungary at the time Horthy was Governor, no matter how fiercely they were criticised by the Czechoslovakian left-wing opposition, and the advantages of these were enjoyed by the Hungarian population too, even if their complaints in other respect were justified.

The above are valid truths and are revealed in Görömbei's book in a moderate and convincing manner. Of course, certain of his other views may not count on common approval; it is the consequence of the nature of such topics that they are not looked at from the same angle on both sides of the border. Here, for example, we have in mind the characterization of the Czechoslovakian "national and democratic revolution", where the author was faced by a difficulty similar to that encountered by the historian dealing with the Hungarian revolution of 1848: tracing this single line, it is extremely difficult to arrive at a comprehensive view which might encompass all the different angles. In a work of this kind, however, one may not even think of neglecting these matters by relying on some kind of immanently literary viewpoint. András Görömbei writes without unnecessary truisms, in a placid manner characterized by the proper degree of historical reconciliation; this much at least must be allowed to say about these difficult questions of our age in order to be able to argue with appropriate weight against those who stress more than is inevitably necessary.

It is not necessary here, and would not be easy either, to give a detailed analysis of the two chapters concentrating on the meaningful material which follow the first, theoretical part. The primary reason for this is that Czechoslovakian Hungarian literature has so far come up with few literary accomplishments which would even stand up to the standards of literature in Hungary; consequently, there are few who keep track of them. Nor will comparison with Transylvanian Hungarian literature, as is common knowledge, yield a favourable result. It is a truism to mention in this connection that local and historical factors exercised a favourable influence on the creation of an awakening publicism of a wide horizon and a progressive spirit, but this could not make up for talented writers who were either lost or emigrated. Zoltán Fábry, the "hermit of Stósz", who is appreciated as the most outstanding figure beyond the borders of the country, was also an essayist and publicist. But it must be added that it is precisely Görömbei's book that does a great deal in order to eliminate the part prejudice plays in this belief.

Like his forerunners, Görömbei also uses the terms first, second and third generations, only in a slightly different manner; as, for example, it is customary to speak about the generations of the journal *Nyugat* in Hungarian literature, and not only because here the first generation can be considered to have started from 1918 at the earliest (that is how Sándor Csanda, and others have dated it). In Görömbei's book, however, the word generation is rather used to denote an era: he dates the first era from 1945 or rather from 1948, and the rest are discussed in two large waves beginning from the years of "development" (the launching of the only literary journal of great importance, *Irodalmi Szemle*. Continuity—within the individual subchapters—is represented by Zoltán Fábry, Viktor Egri, Béla Szabó, Ibolya L. Kiss and Vilmos Csontos; the younger representatives of the first generation have received a separate common sub-chapter. One more caesura is inserted by the author between the 'sixties and the 'seventies. Here he analyses, among others, the careers of the "late starters", including Olivér Rácz, Teréz Dávid and Katalin Ordódy. (But here, too, the criterium is not age but era, since Teréz Dávid was born in 1906 and Katalin Ordódy in 1920!) Furthermore, still under the label of the first generation, and perhaps, to a certain extent, "in the sequence of development", he discusses Tibor Babi, Árpád Ozsvald and József Mács, then László Dobos and Gyula Duba. Of the second generation, the life and works of Árpád Tözsér, László Cselényi, Lajos Zs. Nagy and

Sándor Gál have been considered in one chapter; a further chapter being devoted to the cultivators of literary science (Lajos Turczel, Sándor Csanda, Péter Rákos, László Koncsol, Tibor Zsilka, Zsigmond Zalabai). And finally, two memorable anthologies, *Egyszemű éjszaka* (The one-eyed night) and *Fekete szél* (Black wind), treat the lyrical works of László Tóth, Imre Varga, Ferenc Kulcsár, Anikó Mikola and the prose works of József Bereck, Magda Kovács and János Kövesdi. Those who do not agree with the author on the question of the selection of names should bear in mind that they do not necessarily imply a judgement of value but rather represent proportions of "presence": their choice may be individual in Görömbei's book (just as in the works of others) but not personal, and not unverifiably subjective. In our view, it all depends on the approval of experts. One might, of course, add the names of those who have been "present", even if not by virtue of their prolificity, but because of their depth, thoroughness, and unobtrusive but effective contribution to the literary process (here I have in mind teachers, editors, etc.). It might also be the case that some would entertain doubts as to the importance attached to other names in the book; while still further names have gained significance in the period of time between the book's completion and its publication. But it is not names with which we are concerned here.* András Görömbei has written a good book and has managed to do so by applying his thorough knowledge, wide intellectual horizon, erudition, susceptibility to subtleties and, last but not least, his clear style trained in other areas onto this field as "a well-tested warrior". His book serves as methodological proof that minority literatures can be successfully approached not from the angle of the minority, but from that of literature itself. "The responsibility of the nation", "the claim to national self-knowledge", emphasized by András Görömbei in his dynamic epilogue, may, in all probability, not be blamed, but nor can the true hope the author also mentions elsewhere in the book, for "the aesthetic spaciousness" which "equally embraces the up-to-date continuity of traditions and the experimenting intentions". For the former—and this the book makes quite clear—may linger on for a long time without the latter; while the latter, of its very nature, comprises the former.

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Péter Rákos

Pomogáts, Béla
Az újabb magyar irodalom 1945–1981
 (Contemporary Hungarian Literature from 1945 to 1981)
 Budapest, Gondolat, 1982. 664 pp. 64,— Ft

Hungarian literary science has a long standing tradition of literary histories written by one person, and these, even if unable to compete with literary histories compiled by an institution or at least by several people in terms of precision and disinterestedness, always have the advantage of possessing a personal character. If the author is sufficiently objective or well-informed, he may touch upon connections which will lead to the formulation of a concept of literary or even social history, over and above a mere discussion of the relevant material. The discussion of contemporary, or almost contemporary literature is particularly likely to produce such results, in that the literary works and phenomena it is to consider will be continuous with the writing of the critical study itself, thus implicating the literary historian as a participant in the processes he describes. For this reason, apart from their activity in the realm of literary 'historical' science in the stricter

* Since then appeared the first volume of the selected bibliography of Czechoslovakian Hungarian literature: József Szőke: *A csehszlovákiai magyar irodalom válogatott bibliográfiája*. Vol. I., 1945–1960. Bratislava, Madách, 1982. pp. 393. The second volume will comprise the years 1961–1970, the third one the years 1971–1980. (Editorial remark.)

sense of the term, we may observe the attempts of Hungarian literary historians from the 19th century onwards to introduce, appreciate, criticize and classify the works of contemporary or almost contemporary writers. As regards contemporary literature, a firm stand was taken by Ferenc Toldy, Pál Gyulai, to a certain extent by János Horváth, and definitely by László Németh and Géza Féja, and among our contemporaries, by Miklós Szabolcsi, István Király, Tibor Klaniczay, Pál Pándi, István Sötér and Péter Nagy (that is to say by a whole range of Hungarian literary historian-academicians). In spite of this, however, they have failed to offer a survey of "contemporary" Hungarian literature. It is an obvious fact that contemporary Hungarian literature begins in 1945. Although the comprehensive literary history in six volumes—*A magyar irodalom története*—compiled by the Institute of Literary Science (than Institute of Literary History) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (edited by academician István Sötér and published between 1964 and 1966) does contain the words "up to the present", it deals somewhat concisely with the past decades. The sixth volume, dealing with less than half a century from 1919 to the time of writing, devotes about 70 pages (!) to literature after 1945 while the previous period is discussed on about 1000 pages. This sixth volume also offers three surveys of Hungarian literature outside Hungary. Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia (obviously after 1918) is presented by Sándor Csanda from Bratislava; Hungarian literature in Yugoslavia is introduced by Imre Bori and István Szeli from Novi Sad. The history of Hungarian literature in Romania is surveyed by literary historians from Budapest (including, by that time Béla Pomogáts too). In these chapters we find articles about the years after 1945 which are not so much miniature as microscope is magnitude. What is missing, furthermore is a survey of the people contributing to Hungarian literature outside Hungary, besides the three countries mentioned above.

The recent book under review by Pomogáts published in 1982 was prepared under circumstances which had changed in several respects, and this can be felt when reading the book itself. Nearly 40 years have passed since 1945 (a period longer than that between the beginning of World War I and the end of World War II). Furthermore, in terms of volume, as a result of the greatly increased number of publications, this period will soon make up the greater part of the literature of our century. While prior to 1966 there were only one or two generations to be discussed which had begun their career after 1945, by now the majority of "contemporary" Hungarian writers (in spite of the fortunate presence of some of the "great and sacred old men") had started their career in this era.

The perception and interpretation of Hungarian literature outside Hungary has also changed favourably. Although even in Pomogáts's book the chapters dealing with this question bear the title "Side-glances", and this material altogether makes up but one tenth of the volume (while it is not true that nine out of ten authors writing in Hungarian live in Hungary!), it also contains two new subchapters entitled "Hungarian literature in the Carpathian Ukraine" and "Hungarian literature in the West" (covering 3 and 9 pages, respectively).

For all this the author has had few surveys to make use of apart from direct and dispersed sources. Imre Bori's book, *A jugoszláviai magyar irodalom története 1918-tól 1945-ig* (The history of Hungarian literature in Yugoslavia from 1918 to 1945) Novi Sad, 1968 does not actually offer a picture of this era. His other valuable surveys cannot make up for a detailed "contemporary" Hungarian literary history or literary encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia, in the preparation of which they will be of great assistance. The book by Lajos Kántor and Gusztáv Láng about Romania which has been published twice: *Romániai magyar irodalom. 1944–1970*. (Hungarian Literature in Romania. 1940–1970, Bukarest 1973 = first published in 1971) was able to offer some basic insights into the first quarter of the century at least. The first volume of the Hungarian literary encyclopaedia of Romania* was already published too late to be of use to Pomogáts in his book. The work of András Görömbei on Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia also appeared in print later.** The Hungarian literary encyclopaedia of Slovakia does not deal with this era. As far as I know no survey has been made of Hungarian literature in the Carpathian Ukraine. On the topic of "Hungarian

* See the review by Béla Pomogáts in *Hungarian Studies* Vol. I., Number 1. 1985. pp. 146–147.

** See the review by Péter Rákos in this issue of *Hungarian Studies* 301–304.

literature in the West" Pomogáts had altogether five studies to quote as sources (two of these he had written himself, and the third was by Miklós Béládi, the editor of this part of Pomogáts's book). And this does not amount to very much. Irrespective of who might prepare it and from what political, sociological, ethnic or aesthetic point of view, it is in any case imperative to publish a scientific literary history of this literature, as soon as possible. For this literature, which has no name or universally accepted definition, is a literary phenomenon of unparalleled interest, and—on account of the real isolation of the Hungarian language and culture—a phenomenon more specific and captivating than, say, similar Polish, Russian or Italian exile literatures.

It was not in competition—although this might seem to be the case—that two volumes of the planned four-volume modern Hungarian literary history were published recently (*A magyar irodalom története 1945–1975*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, I. kötet 1981: *Irodalmi élet és irodalomkritika*, IV. kötet, 1982: *A határon túli magyar irodalom*). The editor of these volumes, the fruit of several years' hard work in the Institute of Literary Science of the Academy, was Miklós Béládi. The first volume ('Literary life and literary criticism') appeared in 1981 evoking a spirited echo within the country, which is no wonder considering that contemporaries, acquaintances, and friends (along with enemies and rivals) are discussed in the articles—peoples about whom everybody has their own (often personal) opinion. All four volumes deal with the three decades between 1945–1975 (the first has a thematic structure) within a chronological framework. Volume 4 (Hungarian literature outside Hungary) was published in 1982, its length worthy of its content (464 pages). Here Czechoslovakia is presented by Sándor Csanda, Yugoslavia by Imre Bori and István Szeli (i.e. they continue the picture they had previously introduced up to 1945). The two authors of the brief chapter on the Carpathian Ukraine (András S. Benedek and Vilmos Kovács) are first class experts on the literature in this territory. The chapter on Romania was, quite understandably, written by Lajos Kántor and Gusztáv Láng. This chapter is somewhat longer than the one on Yugoslavia and more than twice as long as the chapter on Czechoslovakia. The chapter on "Hungarian literature in the West" again has a length worthy of its content (even longer than the chapter on Romania) but is still given the careful subtitle "sketch" by its authors, Miklós Béládi, Béla Pomogáts and László Rónay. It is of truly informative character, as a fact assisted by the short list of literature containing about 80 entries, including works and even manuscripts of cultural and institutional history. Although the material is certainly not complete, it is nevertheless reassuring as a first step.

The layout of Pomogáts's book is simple and logical. Following a foreword which is somewhat unnecessarily apologetic and which, quite justifiably, clears up a few points, it gives a "historical survey" (or as its subtitle says: "vertical section") in which separate chapters are devoted to literary life, poetry, epic literature, drama and even literary science. This is the usual lay-out in Hungarian literary criticism where—if the literary history of the present day is given—a similar classification according to genres is used. At first sight this is the most obvious solution, since in this way works of similar character are placed side by side and the institutional frameworks can be seen especially well. Nonetheless, two remarks should be made here. According to the lay-out, "literary life" covers 45 pages, poetry and epic literature are somewhat longer while the chapter on drama is much shorter, and the part on literary science is again almost 40 pages long. The first place awarded to poetry is obvious to the consciousness of the Hungarian literary public, although prose literature is of larger scope not only in the number of items, but also in volume. Clearly, a well-organized bibliography should advisably be presented in a chapter on "literary life". It is, furthermore, understandable that Pomogáts, as a literary historian, keeps a serious account of the works of aestheticians, critics and experts on literary theory, and calls the reader's attention to important connections (sometimes this survey takes the form of reading out a list of names, i.e. from Mihály Vitéz Csokonai to László Földényi or Tamás Terestyéni.)

Since the index of names to be found at the end of the volume does not include the list of works to be found at the same place, it is sometimes difficult to identify which works the author is speaking about. In a word, this introduction seems to be too thoroughgoing.

Part II ("cross section") presents the lifework of individual writers. A given writer is discussed only once, and therefore authors are classified into groups by virtue of age, etc. Biographies are hardly given at all; the more important works, however, are listed, at places even without evaluation, which makes the book encyclopaedic, but useful. If I have counted correctly, Jenő Heltai born in 1871 is the oldest and János Sebeők born in 1958 the youngest of the writers considered. In the volume more than fifteen hundred(!) Hungarian men of letters are mentioned over five hundred pages, which in itself results in crowdedness and raises the question of completeness. The section on Hungarian literature outside Hungary was made in just the same way, and here there is no breakdown of material. Interestingly enough, it seems that the presentation here offers somewhat more perspective, perhaps because the author did not aim at completeness.

Mention is made of the various writers who have produced works adapted for film and even television, yet the newer types of mass communication are not allotted enough space in the volume, despite the fact that here we may speak of real success from the point of view of both our writers and the public. One might further consider whether this topic could be dealt with separately.

The thematic bibliography of "Literary information" containing more than 300 entries is equally important for readers both in Hungary and abroad. The writers are presented in alphabetic order (which is difficult to notice). The list of those who have received literary awards is also useful. It is unbelievable but true that more than 600 such awards were distributed in the period under discussion. Nonetheless, not everybody received one. . . .

It would be advisable to publish this useful book in a foreign language (in English or German) in an adapted form. Then too, it would need to be updated just as now, when we consider that while the book was published in 1982 its material really closes with 1981. The book's material makes highly informative reading, offering good orientation to the reader.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,
Budapest

Vilmos Voigt

Hunyadi Brunauer, Dalma—Brunauer, Stephen Dezső Kosztolányi

München, 1983. 250 pp. (Veröffentlichungen des Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminars an der Universität München. Herausgegeben von Gerhard Ganschow. Serie C, Miscellanea. Band 15.)

If we share Gottfried Benn's view that "keiner der Großen Romanciers der letzten hundert Jahre war auch ein Lyriker", we may regard Dezső Kosztolányi (1885–1936) as a writer of exceptional significance and should be glad to have the first full-length study to appear in English on his work.

The chief merit of this book consists in its wide scope: all the works of Kosztolányi are taken into consideration. For lack of space we wish to concentrate on the two longest chapters dealing with lyric poetry and narrative fiction, and shall not comment upon the much shorter sections devoted to the biography, plays, essays, and translations of the Hungarian writer.

The first thing that strikes the reader in the Brunauers' appraisal of Kosztolányi's poetry is how often they reject statements made by other critics (from Hungary). In principle, there is nothing objectionable in this, for scholars living far from Hungary may have a different perspective and a wider horizon. The trouble is that the originality of their interpretations is often due to misunderstanding. A case in point is Kosztolányi's polemic essay on Endre Ady. D. H. and Stephen Brunauer believe that Kosztolányi's first volume of poetry,

Négy fal között ('Within Four Walls') was "enthusiastically reviewed by Endre Ady" (p. 5.). No expert on Hungarian literature would agree with such a statement. This need not in itself be a cause of criticism, but it is somewhat surprising that our authors give us no reason for their interpretation, and do not quote the passage from Ady's review which Kosztolányi regarded as an unjust underestimation of his book. Ady compared his fellow poet to Károly Szász, the prolific but untalented versifier of the second half of the 19th century. By 1907 Szász had a very low reputation, especially among younger intellectuals; so Ady's comparison was undoubtedly derogatory. In fact, one could trace the origin of Kosztolányi's later attack upon Ady back to the older poet's review of *Négy fal között*. Once Ady's opinion of Kosztolányi's first volume is grossly misinterpreted, it comes as no surprise that Kosztolányi's polemic essay on Ady, published in 1929, is not treated objectively. It is not even mentioned that some other writers (Frigyes Karinthy, Milán Füst, Sándor Márai) also expressed doubts about Ady's stature; and so Kosztolányi's reservations about the aesthetic value of some Ady's poems were by no means exceptional. What is more, the Brunauers seem to be unaware that the point of Kosztolányi's essay is not so much an attack made upon an older poet as the definition of a new, less rhetorical conception of poetry.

How is it possible that despite the authors' obvious admiration for Kosztolányi's work, their book fails to convince the reader of the real values of the Hungarian writer? There are four possible reasons for this:

1. Our critics do not seem to be familiar with certain methods of literary scholarship. The book's vocabulary may remind the reader of the impressionistic essays of *la belle époque*: "subject", "theme" and "mood" are the key-words, and the meaning of these terms remains undefined. No attempt is made at structural analysis, and most poems are simply labelled "sad", "happy", "moving" or "beautiful". Kosztolányi's first and rather insignificant volume of poetry is treated as a major work, because "all subjects which occupied him during the rest of his career as a poet appeared already in those poems", and his second and far more important volume is praised in a similar vein: "Married love and fatherhood provided him with some of his finest poetic subjects" (p. 22.) One could go on citing other passages, but I think that these two illustrations suffice to show that the authors are not very well-versed in literary theory. Because they lack a coherent terminology, their interpretations are far from reliable.

2. The second reason is bound up with the conception of literature our critics seem to hold. They do not discriminate between mediocre and first-rate works, and because of this the reader will find their aesthetic standards very low, and may unjustly dismiss Kosztolányi as a minor writer. If this is so, the book has missed its aim, because it will not make readers turn to Kosztolányi's works. In my opinion not many serious readers would feel inclined to read a poet described in the following terms: "He wrote the greatest number of the most beautiful poems to his wife and to his child. He is the family poet *par excellence*" (p. 31.). I fully agree with the Brunauer's high esteem of Kosztolányi's work, but I have the impression that they misrepresent the kind of poetry they try to describe, and their book may lead to misunderstandings.

In any case, I would prefer a much higher standard in evaluation. Our critics are far too generous with their praise. They devote much attention to juvenile or insignificant poems, while they give no analysis of *Ének a semmiről* ('A Song upon Nothing'), the final poem in the last volume of verse published in the poet's life. To do justice to Kosztolányi as a poet it should be admitted that his verse is extremely uneven, much of it is second-rate, but some of the late pieces make him a major poet, because "keiner auch der großen Lyriker unserer Zeit hat mehr als sechs bis acht vollendete Gedichte hinterlassen", to quote again Benn's seminal essay *Probleme der Lyrik*.

3. Because of their inability to see the difference between lesser and major works, the authors give a somewhat static picture of Kosztolányi's literary career. In their view *Számadás* ('Summing up'), the last volume of Kosztolányi "has no more inner cohesion than any other volume of poetry does" (p. 77.). This is a strange statement about a volume that has a more close-knit structure than most books of poetry. The only possible explanation is that our critics have missed the point of the volume, the contrast between the final poems in the collection: *Hajnali részegség* ('Dawn Intoxication'), a poem about transcendence, and *Ének a*

semmiről, an expression of post-Nietzschean nihilism and of a sense of having been thrown into the world.

The chapter on Kosztolányi's late poetry is indeed the weakest part of the book: the finest poems, the cycle of seven sonnets called *Summing up* and the short Expressionist lyrics *Őszi reggeli*, *Vörös hervadás*, *A vad kovács* (Breakfast in Fall, Red Withering, The Wild Blacksmith) are not analyzed at all, his three-line poem *Októberi táj* ('Landscape in October'), which exerted a great influence on later Hungarian poetry, is not even mentioned, and his *ars poetica*, *Esti Kornél éneke* ('The Song of Kornél Esti') is misread: the authors believe that "the title of the poem is misleading, because it is not sung by Esti", forgetting that in the later poetry of Kosztolányi the speaker would often address himself in the second person. For such a misinterpretation there is only one explanation: our critics' knowledge of works on Kosztolányi is very uneven. A rather insignificant short book published in a small town in 1938 is frequently quoted, whereas important books (e.g. Ágnes Heller's) and outstanding articles (by János Barta, Attila József, G. Béla Németh, István Örley, Dezső Tandori) are not even listed in the bibliography.

If the works of Kosztolányi could not bring home to our critics how much he changed his style in the second half of his career, some of his commentators may have convinced them of the radical transformation which Kosztolányi's writing underwent in the early 1920's. The Brunauers' claim that "it is impossible to show any *development*" (p. 102.) in the works they examine seems to be at least far-fetched, especially if one remembers that in his later years the poet-novelist changed even his vocabulary, and rewrote some of his earlier texts.

4. How can such misunderstandings be explained? For there are obvious misunderstandings in this book, especially in the chapter on narrative fiction. Let it suffice to mention but three examples. The heroine of *Pacsirta* ('Lark') is an ugly girl who lives with her parents. When she leaves home to visit relatives, her father suddenly realizes that he hates his daughter. Our critics maintain that "the extremely exaggerated ugliness of Lark is the only factor spoiling the perfection of the little masterpiece" (p. 145.). Antal Novák, the hero of *Aranyárkány* ('Golden Kite') believes himself to be an exceptionally conscientious teacher. Suddenly his only child, Hilda elopes with a boy, and a few days later he is beaten by some of his ex-students. First he makes plans for a revenge, but little by little he comes to the conclusion that he has made serious mistakes, and commits suicide. The Brunauers' view is that this hero "moves from insight to ignorance, to a complete misconception of himself" (p. 148.). The heroine of a third novel, *Édes Anna* ('A. Édes') is a perfect maid cruelly treated by her mistress. For a long time Anna seems to be content with her hard life, but after a huge party given by the lady of the house the maid murders her employers. The commentators argue that the novel has a crucial weakness, because "the climactic event, the double murder, is unexplained" (p. 170.). The trouble with these interpretations is that they are made without paying attention to the type of novel Kosztolányi tried to write. A close friend of the analyst Sándor Ferenczi, he took a passionate interest in the unconscious, and his psychological novels are explorations of hidden motives.

In their preface D. H. and Stephen Brunauer declare that their intention is to place Kosztolányi "in the context of Hungarian and world literature" (p. 2.). That task seems to have proved too difficult for the authors of this book. They have failed to analyze important cross-cultural factors which would help the reader understand a writer virtually unknown to the English-speaking world. If they had examined the social and intellectual *milieu* of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the influence of Rilke and the *haiku* from, Nietzsche and psycho-analysis, the theory of linguistic relativity, and the various *avant-garde* movements, their book might have become a timely and pioneering study of a writer who in the last 15 years of his life developed an exceptionally condensed yet lucid prose style, wrote a highly original antinovel *Esti Kornél* ('K. Esti'), and a number of short poems which could be regarded as fine Expressionist lyrics. As it is, this book does not serve its purpose, and cannot be compared with the best works written by other critics on a writer whose work should be known to all readers of literary works of art.

Ojtozi, Eszter

A máriapócsi baziliták cirillbetűs könyvei

(The Old Slavic Liturgy Books of the Basilian Order in Máriapócs)

Debrecen, Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Könyvtára, 1982. 137 pp. (Régi Tiszántúli Könyvtárak 2.) Irodalom. 49—58 pp., 44 kép

This volume, the second in the series 'Old Libraries Beyond the Tisza' (*Régi Tiszántúli Könyvtárak*), was written by Eszter Ojtozi on the library of the Basilian Monastery in Máriapócs (North-East Hungary). The main importance of this book was summed up by the editor of the series as follows: the publication of a catalogue of the old Slavic books seemed to be important in three ways. Firstly, as a reconstruction of the former monastery library, secondly as a work of preservation which could be very important for later scholars, and thirdly, because it represents a significant step in the discovery of ecclesiastic Slavic books available in Hungary, and thus should be integrated into international research undertaken in this field.

The introductory essay consists of three parts and provides a detailed description of the foundation and growth of the monasterial library in Máriapócs, and also tells its readers about its decay after the dissolution of the Basilian order in Hungary. It paints an extremely interesting and exciting picture of the bibliographical, cultural, and historical aspects of the life of the United Greek Catholic Church in Hungary. This work may help to draw attention to shortcomings in earlier presentations of similar cultural heritages. The bibliographical section following the introductory study, the catalogue which is the backbone of the whole volume, the index-system that consists of nine elements, and the illustrations fully achieve the aims of the volume as a whole. Furthermore, the author greatly assists the reader through the provision of an index of the store-numbers of the present location of the books. Still, it has to be mentioned that the illustrations could be identified in the Slavic catalogue only on the basis of a short Hungarian description and the date of the publication. This catalogue may prove extremely useful in the research of popular religiosity. Nowadays there is a growing interest in the popular customs and religious life of the Greek Catholic Church of Hungary. A great number of the members of this Church were Ukrainians who became Magyarized. Their original liturgic language was old Slavic even at the turn of our century. The date of the switch to Hungarian cannot be defined with precision because the change constituted a long and gradual process. The present Hungarian language traditions only go back 80—90 years and are built upon a Slavic liturgical practice two centuries old. It was only possible to evaluate the fragmentary data collected in recent times after a detailed study of the historical background of the Slavic liturgical practice, and the popular customs and beliefs connected with it. But until now, for many reasons these Slavic liturgical books have not been available to researchers. Even the parish churches had never owned all 40 volumes of the entire liturgic series, and the precious books have mostly been destroyed or lost in everyday use. The monasterial libraries were not only scattered after secularization but also lost among an immense mass of books in the central storehouse.

This valuable work of Eszter Ojtozi has now recreated the background of a cultural history thought to have been lost forever.

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András Cserbák

Гиряк, Михайло
Дзвони не втихають
Українські народні казки Східної Словаччини.
(Ukrainian Folktales from East Slovakia) Том I.

Братіслава, Словацьке педагогічне видавництво — Пряшів, Відділ української літератури — 1982.
273 с. Kčs 27,—

In the easternmost parts of present-day Czechoslovakia (East Slovakia) live the Ukrainians. They are a western group of people, currently living on the West side of the Carpathian mountains, predominantly as a special political unit called, in Russian, *Zakarpat'e* (which literally means 'behind the Carpathians', clearly identifying a *point de vue*). Until the end of the First World War they lived in Hungary, and between the two wars in Czechoslovakia. Their rich folklore has already been studied for more than a hundred years by Hungarian, Ukrainian, Slovak, Russian, Polish and other folklorists, whose direct ethnic affiliation is sometimes difficult to tell. In Hungarian publications the name of the people is *rutén* or *ruszin* (the form Ruthenian is also used in English), and the territory is named *Kárpátalja* 'foot of the Carpathians'. In earlier Czechoslovakian publications the territory was called *Podkarpatska Rus* literally 'Russia at the foot of the Carpathians', and scholars, such as P. G. Bogatyrev, the world famous Russian folklorist working in Czechoslovakia, made a distinction between that land and East Slovakia proper.

Ruthenian folktales are a favourite field of investigation for Ukrainian, Hungarian and Slovak folklorists, as well as for comparative Slavic philology, because of the richness and beauty of the texts, their archaic language, interconnections with old beliefs and customs, etc. However, a distinction between Ukrainian folk tales in *Zakarpat'e* and in East Slovakia was not always maintained. Folklorists generally appreciate the Carpathian tales, and are not always aware of the fact that many of them were in fact rather from East Slovakia.

Mikhajlo Giryak, or, preferably Michal Hirjak (as the author writes his name in the Slovakian orthography) collected and published the folklore texts under review from East Slovakia. Between 1965 and 1979 he got seven volumes done by the Prešov (in Ukrainian Prjašiv, in Hungarian Eperjes) Ukrainian publisher, and one volume in Užgorod (in Ukrainian Užhorod, in Hungarian Ungvár) for Soviet readers. After these publications the folk tale type index of East Slavic peoples (Russians, White Russians, and Ukrainians) appeared (in 1979), facilitating a more detailed comparative study of the Ukrainian folk tales from East Slovakia. Hirjak publishes 32 tales in this volume, which is the first one in a larger series. The language of the tales is normalized, about one hundred of the rare words are explained. Hirjak works from his own material, and in one third of the work makes use of Volodimir Hnatyuk's classical Kiev publications (1897–1900). Unfortunately he does not tell us who told the tale and when. After each tale he gives references to the East Slavic, Polish and Slovak tale type indices, as well as to the international type index by Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson. It is regrettable that he does not refer to Romanian and Hungarian tale type indices, in spite of the fact that the similarities are striking.

It was precisely because of this fact that we wanted to review this important publication, in the hope that in forthcoming volumes the shortcomings will be corrected.

It is a well-known fact that Hungarian folktales and folktales from *Zakarpat'e* have very much in common. Now one can see that the same is true for Ukrainian folktales from East Slovakia. Not knowing the family names of the story-tellers, nor the year of the field work, we are not able to make precise remarks concerning school, broadsheet or literary sources. In the terminology of course Hungarian words often occur, as e.g. *gazda* 'head of a family, owner of the farm', *kocs* < *kocsi* 'coach', *kocsis* 'driver of a coach', *oriaši* < *óriás* Hungarian plural, in fact 'giants', *palinka* 'brandy', *sovgor* < *sógor* 'brother-in-law', *sárkány*

'dragon', etc. For folk tale research the importance of the terms is especially great, as parallel forms, like *zmij* 'dragon' and *sárkány* 'dragon', or even *čort* 'devil' and *fras* (from German) 'devil' are quite astonishing.

It is probably not known to everybody that the Hungarian lawyer, Mihály Fincicky (1842–1916) collected 92 folk tales in the 1870's from the Ruthenians, or "Hungarian–Russians" as he called them. Later, in 1910 he translated 40 tales from the collection into Hungarian, for publication. However, the texts were only published in 1970 (*A vasorru indzsibaba. Kárpátukrajnai népmesék. A szövegeket gondozta és a jegyzeteket írta Kovács Ágnes. Bp. 1970. "Népek meséi"*), and of course, only in Hungarian. The Ruthenian originals were lost so we do not know whether some of the tales might not also have been from East Slovakia. Nevertheless folklorists should remember his collection, because it is the oldest special folktale collection of the Ruthenians and very much akin to some of the tales published in Hirjak's books.

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Vilmos Voigt

Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae. Sectio Historica; Sectio Philologica (Moderna); Sectio Linguistica

The main title above, with its different subtitles, covers the different foreign language yearbooks of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. The series started in 1957, and since then has been published uninterruptedly with a widening scope of theme. Today, thirteen different sections are published, covering science, law, and the humanities. The existence of this series is justified by the fact that it makes the results of Hungarian scientific life and research undertaken at the Eötvös Loránd University more available outside Hungary. It also aims to strengthen international scientific connections and the exchange of information. This goal is also served by the system of international distribution. In general the volumes are sent to foreign institutions and libraries by the special branch libraries of the different departments. They form the basis of an international book exchange program, thus helping to improve the stock of foreign books in these libraries. This seems to be a very profitable way of exchanging information bilaterally. At the same time, the editorial boards have compiled lists of those foreign scholars who may be interested in the contents of these publications which are sent to them. It would be possible to extend the scope of distribution further; the number of copies printed would allow this.

Annales, Sectio Historica is one of the series that started in 1957. Since then it has appeared continuously; Volume XXI is the most recent to have appeared. From the beginning to 1967, the editor of the series was Zoltán Oroszlán, and since then István Diószegi has been the editor-in-chief. Studies and articles are mostly published in German, French, and Russian. The subjects treated include different problems of Hungarian and international history, their connections, the results of archeological research, articles on settlement history and social politics, etc. In more recent volumes, the editorial board has tried to group the articles of a given volume around one period or one main problem. There are very useful bibliographies concerning the results of Hungarian historical research between 1962–1964 and 1945–70, respectively, in Vols VII and XII. Vol. XVIII contains further documentation on the publications between 1971–75 by the members and scholars of the different departments of historical studies. The same volume contains also a list of B. A. dissertations written in that period (1971–75). This list is especially useful, as the results of these studies would not be available in any other way and would be forgotten. The latest volume (XXI, published in 1981) was devoted to the 60th anniversary of the birth of Endre Arató (1921–1977). His friends and disciples offered the latest results of their research to his memory. The entire bibliography of his publications can also be found here. One characteristic feature of the volumes of *Annales, Sectio Historica* is that they contain book reviews of possible interest to non-Hungarian readers and also a chronicle of the year's scientific events.

Annales, Sectio Philologica is a series that also started in 1957. It appeared continuously until 1969, when there were tendencies to separate the modern European philological studies from those specifically concerned with Hungarian philology. The first separated volume of *Sectio Philologica Hungarica* appeared in 1969. Unfortunately this series was discontinued. *Annales, Sectio Philologica Moderna* (first volume 1970) represents its continuation. The original series gave an eclectic picture of the philologic research taking place in the Eötvös Loránd University in its time. Nowadays, this new series (editor-in-chief Ottó Süpek) presents modern philological research, and publishes articles in most of the greater European languages. One of the volumes was centered on the age of the Renaissance, and the latest one deals mostly with studies on French linguistics. It is distributed by the Department of Spanish Philology and also by the Central Library of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

One of the youngest subseries is the *Annales, Sertio Linguistica*. Its first volume appeared in 1970. The latest one to appear was Volume XIII (for 1982, in fact published in July 1985). These volumes are they yearbooks of the Departments of Hungarian, Finno-Ugric, General and Applied Linguistics. Studies and reviews on Finno-Ugric, Slavic, German, neo-Latin, and Oriental linguistics and also on general and applied linguistics are published in them. They are written mostly in English, French, Russian, German, and Spanish, but they also contain articles in Slovak, Polish, and Finnish. The editor-in-chief, István Szathmári, requires that studies should not have been published elsewhere. He would not publish the translations of articles that have already appeared in Hungarian. The size and volume of each edition of this series is still growing and so is its distribution. The topics of the first volumes were quite mixed, but the more recent ones contain studies grouped around one main topic. Nevertheless, articles and reviews dealing with other subjects may also be found in these volumes. Thus, Volume V presents the lectures of the anniversary meeting of the Finno-Ugric Department; Volume IX contains the studies read at the conference held in memory of Zoltán Gombocz. In the first parts of Vols X—XI, there are studies written for the memorial meeting on Janus Pannonius held in 1978 in Visegrád, jointly organized by the universities of Padova and Budapest. Vol. XII (1981), printed in fact by the end of 1983, due to the printer's delay so usual with Hungarian university publications, contains the proceedings of the *International Congress on the Origins and Originality of American Culture* (held in Budapest in April 1980), or more precisely ten papers from the latter's section on linguistics. Nine other essays and two book reviews are also included in the volume. Volume XIII contains 15 papers on French—Hungarian contrastive linguistics, all in French (plus other papers).

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,
Budapest

Mária Meggyes

A Valóság repertórium, 1958–1978

(Index to "Valóság")

By János Meggyesi

Budapest, 1982., 285 pp. 60,— Ft

Ever since its first appearance *Valóság*, which celebrated its twentieth anniversary in 1980, has been the most important monthly on culture and the social sciences in Hungary. The bibliographical index was completed in 1980, and published two years later. Nearly 7000 papers, articles and other items are included, followed by a special index of art illustrations published. There is also a complete author index. The one-page introduction and list of editors themselves offer a fair amount of initial orientation, but the reader may

judge the importance of the journal for himself. Not only are the articles listed interesting in themselves, but also the predilections of reviewers bear witness to both the continuity and change in Hungarian intellectual life between 1958 and 1978. It is a pity that a quicker technique was not used in order to publish a 25 year biographical study, as even today *Valóság* continues to play the role it has played from the beginning.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,
Budapest

Vilmos Voigt

A Múzeumi és Könyvtári Értesítő repertórium (1907–1918)
(Index to “Múzeumi és Könyvtári Értesítő”) by Julianna M. Katona

Budapest, Művelődéskutató Intézet, 1982. 155 pp.

In 1897 an Office of Museums and Libraries (*Múzeumok és Könyvtárak Országos Főfelügyelősége*) was initiated in Hungary, the task of which was to coordinate and supervise all activities in public museums and libraries. Its journal was the *Múzeumi és Könyvtári Értesítő* (1907–1918), and a complete index of the twelve volumes is given in this publication. It contains about 2000 items and excellent cross-references. The introduction (by Krisztina Voigt) gives a short sketch of both the office and of its journal. Up until now the material had been practically forgotten. It is nonetheless the most comprehensive material on organization, profile and results in the work of Hungarian museums and libraries during a period which may justly be called a turning point in Hungarian cultural history. A very necessary publication although somewhat hard to find.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,
Budapest

Vilmos Voigt

SHORT NOTICES ON PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Hungarica in Castrenianum Publications

Castrenianum, named after the famous Finnish linguist, M. A. Castrén is the Finno-Ugric Institute of the Helsinki University. It is the world's most important university institution of Finno-Ugric linguistics. Since 1971 the institute with the help of the (international Finnish) Society of Finno-Ugric Studies (*Suomalais-ugrilainen seura*) has published a series of small monographs. Their scope is wide: Lappish and Nenets linguistics, Karelian children's lore, bibliographies, various *Festschrift* publications, etc. There are several volumes among the publications which contain direct Hungarian material. (Also in the other volumes one finds occasional references to Hungarian scholars or topics.)

Vol. 11. (1975) *Castrenianum. Forschungszentrum für Fennistik und Finnogristik*, redigiert von Eila Hämäläinen und Kaisa Juusela—the Hungarian Institute of the Helsinki university is also a division of the *Castrenianum*, thus a short description form part of the book.

Vol. 21. (1981) Tamás Márk–Pirkko Suhkonen ed.: *Folia Hungarica* 1. (Seven papers on the Hungarian language, all in Finnish, with Hungarian summaries.)

Vol. 24. (1982) Viljo Tervonen—Irene Wichmann ed.: *Suomalais-unkarilaisten kulttuurisuhteiden bibliografia vuoteen 1981*. (A detailed bibliography of Finnish and Hungarian cultural contacts, about 2000 items, with indexes. The book is in Finnish, and the data are from Finland. A similar Hungarian volume is needed. At present this bibliography is the best introduction to the study of Finnish–Hungarian cultural relations.)

Mikko Korhonen–Seppo Suhonen–Pertti Virtaranta

Sata vuotta suomen sukua tutkimassa.

100-vuotias Suomalais-ugrilainen Seura

Espo, Weilin and Göös, 1983., 254 pp.

Established in Helsinki in 1883, the Finno-Ugric Society has been and continues to be the most important international and, of course, first and foremost, Finnish assembly of Finno-Ugric scholars. Authors of the present centennial volume are leading officers of the society, who review their own history, as well as Finnish and international studies on the subject, including of course, its Hungarian aspects.

The short introduction is followed by three parts marked by richness of illustration, and fine biographical and bibliographical notes. The history, officers, meetings, publications and fellows of the learned society are aptly introduced by Professor Suhonen. Members commissioned by the society to search for the presumed roots in Siberia, and tireless researches of Balto-Finnic area are introduced by Professors Korhonen and Virtaranta, respectively. Though the volume seems to concentrate primarily on the time span between the society's formation and World War I, it also considers ensuing developments. While questions directly related to Hungarian–Finnish philology are not discussed, there are numerous Finnish researchers (like Yrjö Wichmann, Artturi Kannisto, E. N. Setälä, T. V. Lehtisalo and others) with well known "Hungarian

connections", whose contributions make this book also valuable reading for Hungarian scholars of the field as well.

Another advantage of this choice material is the conscientiousness, correctness and unaffectedness we have become so used to from Finns and Scandinavians in general.

Symposium saeculare societatis Fenno-Ugricae, 1–3. XII. 1983

Helsinki, Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1983. 281 pp.

(Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 185)

The 17 lectures presented at the Centennial Celebrations of the Helsinki based Finno-Ugrian Society have been collected into a handy, though somewhat disorderly bouquet by the organizers. After the brief introduction one can select from the works of German, Estonian, English, Hungarian and Russian authors, whereas Finnish work is not represented. And while Scandinavian and Dutch studies are included, the lack of French contribution(s) is quite remarkable here. Among the six authors of Hungarian origin we can find linguistic professors from Göttingen, Vienna, Szeged, Debrecen and Budapest. The main subject of the symposium being the connection between Uralian languages and other tongues, most of the approaches were also linguistic in nature.

The Scandinavian, Finnic Finn, Samoyede and Altaic languages are discussed thematically. There is a special section dealing with Slavic and German loan-words. From the Hungarian point of view Gábor Bereczki's exploratory essay on *A török nyelvek hatása a magyarra* (The Effect of Turkish Languages on Hungarian) appears to be most significant. His revelations should form an interesting basis for further research in this area.

In spite of absence of some well known authors, discussion and debate at the symposium was exciting. Text of the latter, as well as that of a belated presentation (Hans Fromm: *Germanisch—finnische Lehnforschung und germanische Sprachgeschichte*) were published separately at a later date in *Journal de la Société Finno—Ougrienne* 79 (1984). For further remarks see also vol. [80 (1986) pp. 261—267.]

Res referunt repertae. Niilo Valonen 1913–1983

Helsinki, Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1983. 438 pp.

(Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 183)

The volume was planned as a present to Professor Valonen on his 70th birthday, but the distinguished retired institute chairman of ethnography at Helsinki University died just before he would have received it. Thus, the volume has also become a commemoration with a bibliography and obituary, including 30 essays, mostly in Finnish, but also in Swedish, English, German and Estonian. Unfortunately, only the Introduction (containing Valonen's life story by another respected colleague, Professor Virtaranta) has been translated into an international language (German), even if only to the extent of a longer summary. It is obvious from the above that the authors are also Finns, Swedes, Germans and Estonians, but there are also some Hungarians, such as Béla Gunda, János Kodolányi, Bertalan Korompay and Ildikó Lehtinen, this list signifying a hearty connexion in the past between the Finnish Professor and his Hungarian colleagues.

The essence of folk art is gracefully elucidated by Gunda, while Korompay convincingly expounds the importance and necessity of Finno-Ugrian ethnography, based upon their earlier works, already published elsewhere. Kodolányi writes on wooden vessels. It is a shame that even the references have been translated

into German or English in these studies, for this prudent "universalism" has effectively erased all traces of original bibliographic sources for interested Hungarian readers. But at least they are made available in international languages, which is surely more helpful than the short résumés that shadow the works of the Finnish and Estonian authors.

Munkácsi's Present, Edited by A. Uvarov

Izhevsk, "Udmurtya" 1983. 187 pp. 75 коп.

Мункачилэн кузьымеэ

Munkácsi ajándéka

Подарок Мункачи

Ижевск, «Удмуртия» 1983. Составитель А. Уваров

A surprisingly useful and charming little publication. Written in three languages (Udmurt, Hungarian and Russian) the book praises Munkácsi's work, then offers the reader a sample of three of his best essays (*"With the Votyaks"*, *"In the Prisoners' of War Camp of Esztergom"*, *"Modern Votyak Literature"*). This is followed by nearly fifty Votyak [= Udmurt] songs collected by Munkácsi, and by a lengthier epic song, translated into Hungarian by Géza Képes and István Kótyuk and into Russian by G. Ivanov. The contents as well as the captions under the dozen or so pictures are also trilingual. The literature and bibliography is concise but sufficient.

Actually, the little volume is a symbol of the high regard the Udmurts have for Munkácsi's work. The surprisingly flawless Hungarian text was edited by András Kerekes.

As Munkácsi's interests and studies also ranged over to other groups, such as Ob-Ugric and as other Hungarian Finno-Ugrists (Ödön Beke, Dávid Fokos, etc.) have been just as prolific, among Perm and Volga Finno-Ugric peoples, it is easy to imagine similar publications in the not too distant future.

**Leslie Könnyü—50th Literary Anniversary,
1934–1984 Album**

St. Louis, American Hungarian Review, 1984. 160 pp.

Leslie Könnyü was born in Tamási on 28th February 1914 and attended teachers' training college in Baja, in Jászberény, and in Szeged. First, from 1945 to 1949 he taught at the Austrian Hungarian refugee school, and since 1950 he has lived in the United States where, together with his civic occupation, he has continued his activities in literary-organization, literary history and art promotion. In several studies he has dealt with American Hungarians and their culture. For the 50th anniversary of his literary work he has issued this special publication through the American Hungarian Review edited by him for the circle of his admirers and friends. The English and Hungarian selections show his life-work and biography and contain congratulations. A publication like this, also rare in Hungary, is in itself an important art historical document, in which Ronald Reagan and Éva Szörényi appear alongside Mihály Ilia and László Mécs. A

special merit of the volume is its use of several collections or documents about Hungarian provincial literary circles in the 30s and 40s and the literary work of the school-masters. Once again it turns out that in the Hungarica and manuscript collection presented by Könnnyü to the Tamási District Library (county Somogy) there is material which would be well worth processing separately.

(Already ten years earlier, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary he had a similar publication issued, *The American Hungarian Review* Vol. XI, Nos 3-4, 1973, giving his biography and bibliography up to then in a double issue.)

Československo-maďarské vzťahy v hudbe

Sborník materiálů z muzikologické konference — Ostrava 1981 (Janáčkiana V)

Ostrava, Krajské kulturní středisko, 1982. 167 pp.

On 2-3 June 1981 Czech and Slovak experts held a conference in the museum of Ostrava in Czechoslovakia on Czech-Hungarian musical relations. The 14 reports published here represent nearly all the material. The volume starts with an introduction by the editor, Vladimír Hudec, then Richard Pražák reviews the connections between Hungarian, Czech and Slovak culture. The works directly on the subject of music deal principally with Bartók and Liszt but also refer to the life-work of Kodály and draw attention to Czechoslovakian promoters of Hungarian music, or to the sources of these connections. As there is already a similar review of Slovak-Hungarian relations (from the pen of a conference participant Alexander Móži who, unfortunately did not offer his own lecture for publication in the volume) it would be worthwhile to summarize the results of the research of the musical connections so far. For this, the volume is a very good preliminary study which, however, was published in only 500 copies and not by a professional publisher, and so is hardly available.

Slovensko Porabje—Szlovénvidék

Etnološka topografija slovenskega etničnega ozemlja — 20. stoletje

(A szlovén etnikai terület néprajzi topográfiája — 20. század)

Ljubljana—Szombathely, 1983, (1984). 225 (+ 25) pp.

Marija Kozar-Mukič (Mrs. Mukics Kozár Mária) collected data between 1979 and 1983 for a regional ethnographic review of the Slovenian people. The book was published in Ljubljana as part of the scientific program of the Faculty of Arts of the university there, in cooperation with the Savaria Museum in Szombathely. It shows the people of the Slovenian territory in Hungary and their history in the form of a bilingual publication. In the first 77 pages we can read the main text in Slovenian and then in Hungarian; the 143 notes and the bibliography belonging to them is common, or bilingual. It also lists about 25 sources. An English abstract a few pages long can also be read in the book, which closes with 44 illustrations. The two maps contain documentary and dialectal data on "Porabje" Slovenes in west Hungary.

This is the first modern review of the Slovenian territory in Hungary, and naturally it gives much material that can be used for further research, both in Yugoslavia (Slovenia) and in Hungary. Further detailed studies will surely add to this historical, linguistic, ethnographical, cultural and art-historical picture, the knowledge of which from the Hungarological point of view is of great importance.

A Kodály Intézet Évkönyve

Kecskemét, Kodály Intézet, 1982. 135 pp.

In September 1975 the Music Educational Institute in Kecskemét was opened, named after Zoltán Kodály. Nevertheless, its first yearbook was only to appear eight years later. The volume was edited by the institute's director, Mihály Ittész. It contains twelve papers (speeches, reports, articles on Kodály and musical education, folk songs and remarks on folklore), one of which is an old talk by Kodály. At the end of the book English summaries are to be found. One should furthermore note that the Kecskemét Kodály Institute has hitherto published 17 shorter or longer Hungarian booklets, and some English ones, too. It would be useful to print a list of these in the next issue of the yearbook.

Papp, József

Hagyományok és tárgyi emlékek az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetemen

Budapest, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 1982. 350 pp.

The oldest existing university in Hungary is the present Loránd Eötvös University in Budapest, founded by Cardinal Péter Pázmány on 12th May 1635, in Nagyszombat (Trnava). There are several papers and books devoted to the history of the university, but this publication is the first attempt to classify the documents and insignia of the university. After a short description of the history of the university (and of its various official names) about twenty university feasts or occasions are described, then the insignia are treated separately. Facsimile illustrations (all in black and white) represents some old and important university documents. A list of rectors and chancellors, honorary doctors and distinctional doctors close the volume, which also published the actual script of university solemnities.

Unique in its kind in Hungary, the book gives in an indirect way, a glimpse into the history of the 350 years old university, and into Hungarian cultural history as well.

Corvina Books on Hungarian Folk Art

Ever since its discovery, books have been written about Hungarian folk art in languages other than Hungarian. At the end of the 1960s, Professor of Folklore at Budapest University, Gyula Ortutay launched a special series of small books on Hungarian folk art at Corvina Publishers specialized in publishing art books and books in foreign languages. Each volume is written by the best expert (an ethnographer or folklorist in Hungary), and about 80 pages of text, drawings, maps, black-and-white and coloured tables, bibliography and other documentation make the publication more complex. Ten volumes were scheduled, and nine were published before the death of Gyula Ortutay. All these volumes were first published in Hungarian, then in three international languages (English, German, French). The series being the only scholarly edited multivolume publication on Hungarian folk art on the market, was very well received and a financial success. Thus practically all the volumes (including the English versions) appeared in several editions, with very few corrections, and are therefore still available. According to their numbers, the following books appeared in the series *Hungarian Folk Art*:

1. György Domanovszky: Hungarian Pottery,
2. János Manga: Hungarian Folk Song and Folk Instruments,
3. Alice Gáborján: Hungarian Peasant Costumes,
4. János Manga: Herdsmen's Art in Hungary,
5. Klára K.-Csilléry: Hungarian Village Furniture,

6. Tekla Dömötör: Hungarian Folk Customs,
7. György Martin: Hungarian Folk Dances,
8. Edit Fél: Peasant Embroidery,
9. Mária Kresz: The Art of the Hungarian Fourriers.

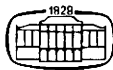
It is tragic, that not only the editor, but also several of the authors (Domanovszky, Manga, Martin) have died, and all the others have retired since the publication of their books. Thus, the series presents a past tense of both Hungarian folk art and Hungarian ethnography. From the beginning of the eighties a new folk art series (*Hungarian Folk Art*) was started by Corvina Press. Its editor is Tamás Hofer, and two volumes have appeared so far: one on Hungarian jewels, the other on cemeteries (Terézia Balogh-Horváth: *Hungarian Folk Jewelry* (1983), Ernő Kunt: *Folk Art in Hungarian Cemeteries* (1983), again in different languages, including also the Hungarian). This series also is of the same size and style, and is intended to appear in four languages. We also hope to review the new series in the near future. Another book series by Corvina Publishers contains full-length monographs. Its first volume (by Tekla Dömötör: *Hungarian Folk Beliefs* (Budapest—Bloomington, 1981), joint publication with Indiana University Press) is devoted to folk beliefs. Further books will appear in both of the new series.

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